

Rev^d. Sir, London, Norfolk Street

March 5. 1765.



Since I had the Pleasure of
seeing you at my House, I have seen a new
Journal of Literature, of which only two
Numbers have appear'd. It is intitled The
Candid Review of Literary Repository. The
that for January is an Extract of the second
Volume of Cardinal Pole's Life; the Wri-
ter of which Extract takes notice of some
mistakes of Mr. Phillips particularly in
calling Lady Jane Grey Lady Jane Bran-
don; in giving St. James Stiles, one of the
Justices of the Common Pleas the title of
Lord Chief Justice; in representing Countess
as Son of the Marquis of Winchester in-
stead of Essex; in ascribing to the Earl of
Arundel the office of Great Chamberlain held
by John Vere Earl of Oxford; in affirming

that on the Death of Bp Gardiner the dignity
"of the Great Seal was vacated some Weeks, where-
as it was given to Sr. Nicolas Flavie, Master
of the Rolls the death after the Bp's death.

Dr. Bartholomew Clerke. *Fidelis ser-
ui Subdito infideli Responsio, una cum
Errorum & Calumniarum quorundam Examine,
quæ continentur in septimo Libro de visibili ec-
clesiæ monarchiâ a Nicolao Badero conscripta
printed at London 1573 in 4^{to}. is worth your
consulting, if you can meet with the Book at
Oxford; for it is very scarce: but if you can-
not, mine is at your service, & shall be sent
you according to your Direction.*

In the 5th. Some of the Observations. *Ac-
tes ad Rem Literariam spectantes* printed
at Hall in 1702 is a Life of Andrew Judithus
in which we have an account of his having been
introduc'd in his second Voyage to Italy into

the acquaintance of Cardinal Pole by Paulus
Manutius / see his epistles L. IV. Ep. 5.
that he attended the Cardinal to England in
Queen Mary's time & ^{staid} there a little above
a year.

The celebrated M^r. Claude
Minister of the French Protestant Church
at Charenton near Paris, in his Défense de la
Reformation printed in 1682 has in part II.

Ch. 5 & 6. particularly consider'd the objecti-
-ons made against the Persons of the Reform-
ers, especially Luther, & has some very in-
-dicious Remarks on his account of his Conference
with the Devil on the subject of private Masses.

I do not know, whether Cardinal Lui-
-rin's Edition of Pole's Works contains a
Letter of Pole to Ruard Tappereus, Dean
of Louvain dated at London XIXth Febr.
1555. printed in a Collection at Harlington in 1716.

land in 1663 in 8^{vo} under the title of Epistolarum
ab illustribus & claris Viris scriptarum Centuria
tres; quos possum ex Autographis collegit &c
edidit Simon Ables Gubernator. By this let-
ter it appears, that Pole had sent his Dialogus
de summi Pontificis officio to apponus &
Judocus Dilectus for their judgement; who had
approved of it.

I am, with the greatest Respect,

Resd. Sir,

Your most obedient & most
humble servant,

28 NO 63

No. Birch.
In Kirchmaiers Diffinitio Historica de Mar-
tini Lutheri oris & vultus habitu heroico prom-
-ised at Wittenberg in 1750 in 4^{to} the fourth Pro-
gramma Historicum is de Lutheri ingenio p. 12
Conversione.

Recd Sir,

London May 18th 1765.



I am to acknowledge the fa-
-vour of your Letter of the 22^d of last month,
and am glad to find that you are so far ad-
-vanced in your Work.

I have examined the Edition of Br. Fith-
-ers Works printed Wirceburgi in 1597 in folio
but do not find in it his Letter to Erasmus
refer'd to by John Fox in his Continuation
of Dr. Haddons answer to Olorius, nor in-
-deed any Letter of that Prelate.

I have likewise consulted the Life of
Ignatius Loyola by Ribadeneira printed
at Hagolstadt in 1590, & that by Father
Bouhours; but observ'd no mention in either
of Cardinal Pole, or of any Jesuits coming
to England during the Reign of Queen Mary.
In the Edition of *Historia des Religieux*
de la Compagnie de Jesus printed at Utrecht
1741

1741 Tom. I. p. 173. Cardinal Pole is said to have written to the Archbishop of Cambray in favour of the Jesuits in 1555: but we are told p. 182—184, that when they applied to that Cardinal, who had done them former services at the solicitation of their Founder, for his Permission to establish themselves in England, & had demanded the Revenues of the suppressed Conventories for their support, these Demands appear'd so extravagant to the Cardinal, that he rejected them with indignation, which provok'd the Society against him so highly, that they ever after consider'd him as their mortal Enemy.

From the English Translation of Meuschen's Ecclesiastical History first publish'd by Mr. MacLaine, Minister of the English Church at the Hague, who has illustrated the Work with additional Notes, it is mention'd in

in one of these Votes Vol. II. p. 94, that the
Histoire de l'admirable Don Inigo de Qui-
-puscoa publish'd under the name of Hercules
Rafiel de Tello, was really written by
M^{rs}. Le Vrier, a Bookeller, who had formerly
lived at the Plague. ^{himself} Neheim observes in
the same page, that the greatest part of Igna-
-tius Loyola's Works were supposed to have
proceeded from the Pen of his Secretary
John de Palanco.

With regard to your Query, whether Pope's
Decrees of Reformation were established by the
Convocation, & received as Canons of the Church;
Collier Vol. II. p. 388 says, that the Cardinal's
Reformation Plan was laid before the Convo-
-cation, which met in October 1555, & was pass'd by
both Houses; & that it was publish'd by him
at Lambeth in February following. See Col-
lier p. 390.

Jan,

Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient & most

humble Servant,

Thos. Birch.

28 NO 63

3

Rev^d Sir,

I beg your pardon for not answering your ^{former} Letter sooner. Business at that time made me defer it, & then it went out of my mind.

I have looked into the Amar. Lit. in which I can find nothing which I think can be of service. As to Hosius, Du Pin hath a short account of him, T. XVI. 118. & gives him a very good character, as an able controversialist; in which I suspect he is too favourable. From the subject-matter of his Books, he seems to have been one who gave up no point, & went through thick & thin.

The few remarks which I send, if you think them worth y.^r acceptance, may be put at the end of y.^r Book.

If you have an opportunity, pray present my compliments to Lord Jersey, who is so kind as to lend us his Privileges. I once had a connection with him, which I did not deserve, & which I suppose he hath quite forgotten. Many years ago I had the honour to be appointed his Chaplain; but I carelessly deferred to enter it in the Commons, till I found it to be too late, & his List was filled up ^{by} others who profited by my negligence. So I enter'd it in my Memory, for one of my follies.

I wonder our Convocation never attempted to procure the privilege of Franking, to which it seems to have as fair a

Yours

a pretence as those who enjoy it. If that favour had been granted us, I should set some value upon being a member of that Silent Body.

I am Dear Sir

Y^r most humble Serv^t

J. Fortin.

Keapington July 9. 1765.



Sir

I have the favor of your letter, which followed me from Adderbury to this place, where my necessary attendance upon the ceremonies of the Court has detained me longer than I either foresaw or wished. I propose to be at Adderbury on Wednesday, and will have the pleasure of meeting you upon any day after that which shall be most convenient to yourself. as my course of necessary reading, and the frequent avocations to which I am subject, have not permitted me to pursue the examination of the Life of Cardinal Pole with the order or accuracy I wished, I fear you will be disappointed by our conversation. Such slight notes as I have made, I will freely show you; without the instant, as I discovered the ignorance or unfairness of the historian; as his injustice to the memory of so many illustrious Persons provoked me, or the obvious fallacy of his System suggested to me the grounds and leading topics of a general answer.

You can not be more solicitous than I am to see the effect of
this bold work prevented by the detection of its numerous
errors and the confutation of its doctrines; and I am serious
of opinion that it would be an eternal disgrace to this age
of science & liberty, if, either from laziness or indifference,
it should leave the truth of history, the memory of so many
deserving Persons, & the cause of Protestantism unvindicated
from so severe & unjustifiable an attack. Your character
in life, & your reputation as a man of knowledge & science,
assure me that the age will incur no such reproach, &
at all hazards, I shall reap the satisfaction of being
known to you in consequence of our meeting.

I am, with great respect

Yr

Your most Obedt

& most Hum. Servt

Clowshend



Grove St.

Sep. 19.
1765.

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Sir



I have read the part of your work, which you were so kind as to leave with me yesterday, as carefully as the short time has permitted, and I am obliged to you for the amusement and information which I have received from it.

The Plan of your answer, which leads you to consider the matter of each section, in the order followed by the Author, makes it difficult to add any remarks or to insert any new point of argument, ~~if~~ either were necessary, in a work already printed and corrected from the press, and therefore I have not ventured to suggest any alterations either in the method, the materials, or the composition. indeed I soon foresaw that any variation or addition would unavoidably occasion a delay, imprudent with respect to the time and effect of the publication, and therefore not to be created lightly.

You seem to me ^{to} have touched upon almost every ~~paper~~ upon which I had made any remark; and, as to those parts in which I had, in my imperfect sketch of an answer, proposed to have gone more fully into the consideration and arraigning of the Author's general representation of historical facts and his system of political reasoning, we differ not in opinion.

nor should I, if I had had the good fortune of seeing you before your work had been so far prepared, have wished any farther change than to have extended some considerations & to have finished some characters, rather more than you have done.

I have also considered how far some particulars, overlooked in the multiplicity of things occurring to you in the discussion of such a subject, might be thrown into detached notes; but I should fear that such as are detections of mistakes of writers, and criticisms upon language and inconsistency of argument, ^{would} lose their force, unless they are wrought into the work, and instantly follow the passages out of which they arise.

I confess I could have wished to have seen a compact and ^{sublime} view of the conduct of the ~~former~~ succeeding Popes, Julius Clement, Adrian & Paul upon the proposition of the marriage and divorce, because I think it would have been beautiful and have admitted of great argument, force & eloquence.

I should have been pleased also to have seen the political causes leading necessarily to the reformation, independent of Wolsey's resentment, Henry's passion, and even monastic views, fully stated, and the great event shown to have flowed from the noblest sources, which

can be found in the improvement of the humane mind & the progress of civil society.

I have a reverence, little less than sacred, for the memory of Cranmer: His conscience was upright; His motives were sincere and manifest; His notions wonderful for that age; His temper firm, tho' once overcome, and His life correct, and therefore I shall be happy in seeing His character fully vindicated, ^{by you} and enrolled, beyond the reach of malice, in that rank of fame which He so well deserves.

These several topics are, I admit & recollect with pleasure, occasionally touched by you, and, I dare say, as largely as the method, which you have prescribed to yourself, in prudence permits. I am not therefore making objections, but merely submitting the ~~only~~ reason which has prevented me from proposing any alterations, agreeably to your commands, which has really been no other than a conviction that I should have only enlarged upon your outline, and thereby possibly have swelled the size, without materially adding to the merit, of your work.

I think myself fortunate in the opportunity which this occasion
has given me of being known to you, and shall be at all
times happy in cultivating the acquaintance.

I am, with great personal respect & consideration,
Yr

Your most obed^t
& most hum. Serv^t
C. Bowdend.

Add. Sep. 29. 1765.

6

Dear Sir

I was favored with yours dated last Tuesday. Signifying that you had ordered your Bookseller to send me your Animadversions on Phillips, & that you would add to the obligation by giving me the pleasure of your company either on Wednesday or Thursday last. But I was disappointed of your Book till late last Saturday night. I have hitherto in vain expected you every day. Your Book I have read through with great pleasure, & thank you for so amply answering my expectations & the promise I ventured to make the Publick that my omiffions & defects would be made up by you. When you was so obliging as to offer to desist from your Design on my account & furnish me with your collections, your character & a sight of some of those collections made me uneasy at the thoughts of depriving the Publick of the benefit of your great knowledge in History & pertinent observations. I advised you to go on & publish. And shall rejoice at the success which I am sure your work must meet with. But I still hope for the pleasure of seeing you, that you may receive in person the thanks of

Doplar
Jan: 21. 1766.

Dear Sir

Your most obedient
Humble Servant
Glo: Ridley.





To
The Rev. Dr. Neve at
~~at the Rectory, St. James's Church~~
~~at the Rectory, St. James's Church~~
Middleton Stoney near Bicester
Oxfordshire

Shoebury

3

Caversham

April 11. 1766.

Rev^d Sir,

Had I anything of consequence to communicate to you, your favour of last month had been acknowledged sooner. You have now my best thanks for your candid acceptance of what occurred to me on your perusal of your work; as also for your pleasure & instruction, which such perusal afforded me: a second edition of it is no more than one might expect from your merits of The Animadversions. As to your passage at p. 175. regarding your number of spectators, great or small, that were present at your execution, I have only this to say; your Burnet's words ["a great company that came to look on the last scene of this fatal tragedy"] do not well accord with your supposition, if by your great company were meant those, who were present upon such occasions ex officio: However, at most, this is only Burnet's private opinion, and you have full as good a right to give us yours. And even in Burnet, your words following those quoted ^{above} look somewhat your way. As to p. 310. line 7 from your bottom, it was not my intention to except to any fact; but only to hint, that your 2 popes were not there named in your order of succession, but in an inverted order. At p. 223. notes. line penult. v. "c. 23." A few words, with your good leave, upon my old friend Hearne's edit. of Camden's Elizabeth, which he published "e codice propria auctoris manu correcto, multisq. magni momenti additionibus locupletato"; Dr. Birch seemed not to know this edit. by his making use of another in his learned publications. Dr. Nicolson treating of this work of Camden's, says "his pity it should be read in"

any other than its author's polite original Latin; yet am I truly mis-
taken, if an historian, much in fashion at present, does not write
of these Annals in such a manner, as would induce one to
think he looked upon y^e original to be in English. Mr. Merrick
by me presents his kind respects to you, & with his thanks for
y^r late obliging letter; desiring also to intimate, that, if there
were two Valdesos, they may possibly be distinguished in J.
Mollerus's Homonymosopia, w^{ch} book is in the Bodleian. I
will detain you no longer at present, than whilst I declare my ve-
-ry high esteem of y^e Animadverter & his work, and my
readiness to approve myself upon all occasions Dr. Neve's
most obedient servant to command

John Loveday





To The rev^d Dr. Neve, Rector of Middleton Honey,

Derfordshire.

Vol. 2

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

MR. *PHILLIPS'S*

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

CARDINAL *POLE.*

To The rev^d Dr. Neve, Rector of Middleton Rectory,

Leptonshire -

Vol. 2

ANIMADVERSIONS

UPON

MR. *PHILLIPS*'S

HISTORY OF THE LIFE

OF

CARDINAL *POLE*.

ANIMADVERSIONS



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ANIMADVERSIONS

ON

SECTION THE THIRD.

POLE being now a member, in Mr. P's language, of the *senate of the universal church*, which has been considered as the common council of the christian world; his biographer has kindly entertained his countrymen, with a pompous account of the origin and institution of the cardinalate, in hopes of removing those prejudices, which the causeless spleen of a mere English reader is apt to conceive at the very name of cardinal. We are greatly obliged to Mr. P. for this extraordinary condescension: though it be rather too late to tell us, by way of information, that this order of the purple was founded to support the pride and pomp of the court of Rome. In former days, the chief priests of larger parishes were distinguished by this appellation, though with a different meaning. They were then looked upon as inferior to prelates: and the title

P. 147. / 167
P. 148

P. 149. / 169

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old

title was dropped, when the mitre was assumed. In later days, when the temporal power of the See of *Rome* was enlarged, an additional degree of honour and dignity was annexed to the council of the Pope: and the *archi-presbyteri* of the primitive bishops, were intended to be revived by the institution of the *cardinales presbyteri*, tho' with much higher powers: for the latter were soon considered as assessors to his Holiness at *Rome*; who afterwards, by bestowing this title upon bishops and other great men, whilst he augmented his own authority, by such powerful associates, ~~he~~ gratified their ambition by the gaudy decorations of privilege and precedence.

P. 148. / ~~By the weight of their influence,~~ easily
168 / overshadowed the episcopal dignity: the
jus divinum of which was forced to submit
to the jus humanum of the ~~cardinal, who~~
~~holding~~ the highest rank in the catholic
church, ~~was~~ considered as ~~a~~ beings of a supe-
riour nature. So much less honour was paid
to that order, which Christ himself, or his
apostles, were supposed to have instituted,
P. 147. / than to that which his vicegerent, through
166 / the expediency of a change in some points of
primitive discipline, established for the dis-
patch of a multiplicity of temporal affairs.
By one degree of art and another, this ~~pow-
erful~~ body became alone concerned in the
election of the bishop of the capital of the
christian

1 The weight of such Influence,
2 Cardinalate; the Persons, who were advanced
to this eminent Station, were deemed to hold
3 and were

4 conspicuous & elevated

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✓ Mosheim's Eccles. Hist: v.1. p491.

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christian world, and thereby of giving a supreme head to the church. The present number of this sacred college was fixed by Sixtus the 5th, for this wise reason, that as he represented Jesus Christ, they (the cardinals) should represent his disciples. As they have had amongst their list the brothers and sons of the greatest potentates; — as they have frequently guided the councils of different states, and been concerned in important negotiations: we are not to wonder, if the worldly wisdom and rapacity of the politician, hath sometimes got the better of the self-denying humility of the ecclesiastic; which occasioned a wicked wag humourously to define a cardinal, to be *animal rubrum, callidum, & rapax; capax & vorax omnium beneficiorum.*¹ Thus can we heretics divert ourselves; and, turning our minds from sounds to things, be much better pleased to hear of the flowing ease and shape, and scarlet colour of the robes, at a distance; than to see them parade in triumph amongst us, and bask as formerly, in the enjoyment of a glorious plurality of bishoprics and benefices.²

¹ Guy Patin, v. Jortin's Erasmus, v. i. p. 564.

² See more about cardinals, in Farnsworth's Prolegomena to the life of Pope Sixtus 5. N^o. 5. p. iv. Bingham's antiquities, B. 2. c. 19. sect. 18. p. 82. and the history of the cardinals, Part i. Book third, throughout.

Paul

P. 151.
171 Paul the 3d conferring this honour of the red hat upon Pole, his biographer, willing to return the obligation, thinks himself equally bound with Quirini, ¹ to vindicate also the patron of his hero. *It has been objected*, he saith, against Paul, *that he conferred the purple on some of his own family, at an age which seems immature for that dignity: but if the care he took of their education, and his hopes of them, be taken into the account, his behaviour, in this particular, will either not appear unbecoming the other parts of his conduct, or must be placed amongst those weaknesses which have too great a mixture of humanity, not to admit of great alleviation.* In so tender a manner, does this good and charitable Mr. P. who does not spare his cruelest reproaches

1 Cardinal Quirini, fond of taking every opportunity of extolling Paul the 3d, for the worthies whom he honoured with the purple, is for ever enlarging upon his Holiness's praises. But in one place his boldness is consummate, and exceeds every thing, when he ascribes the Pope's choice of cardinals, and their acceptance of that dignity, to the influence of the Holy Ghost: for speaking of Pole's letters to Contareni, he says, *ex iis constare annotavimus, Paulum III. Pontif. max. Spiritu sancto duce ad evehendos cardinales procedere consuevisse, præterea cardinales delatam sibi dignitatem non nisi ejusdem spiritus impulsu accepisse.*

V. 2. Diat. sect. I. p. LV. See also, v. I. Præf. Ep. Schelborn cum anim. p. LXXVII. & Diat. p. 376. And again (besides the whole first section of the second volume) v. 3. Præf. p. 40.

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upon the least slip of any of the reformed party, palliate the avowed wickedness of a wanton debauchee. The two young cardinals, here hinted at, were his own grandsons, by two of his bastards; one of whom at 14, the other at 16 years of age, he admitted into the *sacred college*: and shewed P. 151. / 171 (by this action) a caution and sagacity in the choice he made of those, who were to compose the supreme council of the church, worthy the chief magistracy he bore in it. So sensible was his Holiness, that the sacred P. 141. / 160 college should be composed of persons whose examples might recall the ancient splendour of the priesthood. This was the method the supreme head of the church took, to acquaint the world with his earnest resolution to pursue that plan of reformation, which he himself had publickly given out should be effected, and which was loudly P. 150. / 171 called for on all sides. Well therefore might father Paul say, speaking of the creation of these young cardinals, "the hope of reforming the cardinals, and the fear of some of them vanished immediately, because it did not appear how it could begin, but from the age, and lawful birth of those who were to be created cardinals".

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vs To

ius Ch: 5.
377.

Whilst cardinal *Pole* is engaged in receiving the compliments of his friends upon his new dignity, Mr. *P.* steps aside to favour us with his character of two extraordinary persons, friends of the new made cardinal, *Hofius* and *Erasmus*. The former, tho' a cardinal, and a legate afterwards at the council of *Trent*, is now but little known: ~~though I remember to have read somewhere, of his performing something like a miracle to confound heresy.~~ It seems an acquaintance of his, who had been dipping in some heretical books, fell ill of a violent fever. *Hofius*, who looked upon it as a judgment for his presumption, made him sensible, that such wicked indulgence was the cause of his illness; and with great zeal threw the book into the fire, in order to cure his friend. No sooner was this prescription tried, than it succeeded. Whilst the book was burning, the fever abated. When the operation was over, the patient found himself quite well: his fever and his heresy, to the great triumph of *Hofius's* faith, left him at the same time. Such an extraordinary exertion of faith and power, could not but pave the way for the honours he afterwards obtained. As his writings were all of them upon controversial subjects, the good catholics might well style him a pillar of the church: but that, those of a different persuasion should honour him with

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X I have ~~now~~ lying before me a very
singular Account of his uncommon Method of
curing acute Distempers; and of the miraculous
Success which attended his zealous Endeavours to
confound heretical Diseases.

See this Story cited from Rescius's Life of Hosius Ch: 5.
in y^t 2^d Vol.^m of Schelhorn's Amanitates Literariae p 377.
under y^t Article, Libri a Privatis suppressi.



as does Nowell Dean of S^t Paul's in his reproche
of Mr Dorman's prose &c throughout, but more
particularly p 90. & 92. See also

with encomiums still more pompous may reasonably be questioned ; seeing we find him reckoned, by some of the writers of those times, amongst the lowest and basest slanderers of *Luther's* memory. ¹ And the subjects he wrote upon, were not of that kind, as would leave any favourable impression of his candour or moderation, though his abilities might be readily acknowledged. ²

abilities might be readily acknowledged.
~~From~~ *after* the heightening representation Mr.
 P. hath made of the character of *Hofius*,
 he is willing, we should see, he can excell
 in satire, as well as panegyric. He pro-
 ceeds therefore *to that celebrated name*, E-P. 155. / 176
rasinus; whose character is introduced here,
 with no other design, but to express the
 utmost malevolence against his memory,
 by indulging himself in all the petulant
 censures of the lowest bigots of his com-
 munion.

Mr. P, who thinks it no sin to calum-
niate, begins his account of *Erasmus*, by
abusing his country. He was *born*, he says,
in a climate as little flamed for ripening P. 157. / 17 d
minds as improving morals. National reflec-
tions are, for the most part, false; but are
ever base, and what a true scholar would

1 Jewell's reply to *Harding*, p. 2. who frequently nameth him, and ever ranks him with *Eccius*, *Pighius*, and such sort. *Humfredi vita Juelli*, p. 262. ~~and~~ *Charke's* answer to *Parsons*, p. 240.

2 *Dupin eccles. hist.*, 16 century, 2^d pt. B. 5. p. 114.
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p. 24 - 29
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12^{mo} -

disdain to make. At the time of the reformation, the sharpness of a true persecuting spirit was first felt in the low-countries; two monks being burnt there for *Lutheranism*, so early as 1523: where for some years the same rational method of conviction was frequently tried, and with the same effect. ¹ Neither were the heroes, who struggled with such resolution and fortitude for the civil liberties of this oppressed country, more memorable, than those extraordinary persons, who, by their uncommon abilities, furnished such succours to *Europe* for the advancement of literature, and made *Holland* the *Asylum* of letters. ² The celebrated names of *Scaliger*, *Salmasius*, ~~*Grotius*~~ and many others, before, and since their time, would reflect honour upon any country, ² and abundantly refute this idle, impotent attempt to defame it, as be-

¹ G. Brandt's hist. of the Ref. in the low countries. B. I. from A. D. 1523 to 1534: and his account of *Gnapheus's* persecutions. The strongest proof of whose heterodoxy, and what raised a storm against him, was, a pregnant woman, who had a longing, put a sausage, in *Lent* time, into the pot wherein he used to boil his peas. "That affair took up the judges during two days: the physicians were sent for, and asked whether it was possible, that a woman with child should long for meat in *Lent*?" after having debated that question, the judges passed sentence, that *Gnapheus*, should be apprehended dead or alive, where ever he should be found." Brandt's hist. & ~~Edinburgh, v. 1. p. 28. 1.~~

² Fortin's *Erasmus*, v. I. p. 15, 16.

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those illustrious Foreigners who were harboured there, and enjoyed the most honorable emoluments of Literature: and of Grocius and Gerard John Vossius with

which patronised, encouraged, or gave birth to such extraordinary merit & abilities.

Vol. I. p. 52-54. Or La-Roches abridgement Vol. I. p. 24-29.
See also his own Account of this Matter in the Preface to his Narration of the Martyrdom of Pistorius of Woerden, in the Year 1525. the first Person who was burnt in Holland as being guilty of Lutheran heretical Pravity. printed at Leyden 1649. 12^{mo}.

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ing a climate as little ffamed for ripening minds, as improving morals.

Our author does indeed acknowledge the erudition and abilities of *Erasmus*: and *the* P. 158. / 180
view of him, as a scholar, is declared to be *luminous*. But surely, if his excellency in this respect be admitted, why could not that same discernment and understanding, which enabled him to make such real improvements in literary knowledge, enable him also to make some advances in theological learning; for the same defects were observable in each, and that ignorance and stupidity *which disgraced the schools*, disgraced the church also? *Erasmus* saw and lamented this; and did his best to reform them both. It was this commendable undertaking, which first raised the fury of the bigots of his own times: and the shameful clamour is still continued. But how comes the *view of his character, as a Christian*, in our author's phrase, not to be equally luminous? We are told, ~~there was scarce any~~ P. 159. / 18
error advanced against the religion he professed, nay almost, against christianity itself, which he has not revived.

It was *Erasmus's* hard fate to be wilfully misunderstood in his life time: and it hath been his hard fate since, to have these misrepresentations repeated, and with equal effrontery; and the calumny not drawn from any intimate converse with his wri-

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 tings, but derived from a secondary degree of knowledge, from the aspersions of prejudiced enemies. A bitter charge is here brought against a man, to whom Religion and Learning ~~is~~ greatly indebted: and how is it supported? by no other proofs, than bold, presumptuous affirmations. That *Erasmus*, from some set of men, should meet with bad treatment, is not astonishing. He, whose belief is confined to narrow systems, and, what he is pleased to term, the *consent of the church*, cannot but look with an evil eye, upon every attempt to call men
 P. 161. / *from sounds to things, as dissenting from the*
 183 *spirit of the catholic church, and betraying*
a mind totally warped from her rule of rectitude. Sounding words fortunately prove nothing. As the standard of orthodoxy is not the same in all communions, we have a right to expect somewhat less arrogance, and more reasoning, and clear evidence, when a good man's reputation is at stake, and *prophaness* and *impiety* are boldly, and in the strongest manner, objected against him.

The writers of the life of the precious founder of the order of the jesuits, have recorded, that that spiritual *Quixot* could not relish the works of *Erasmus*. He found in that elegant book of the *Enchiridion militis Christiani*, none of the *unction* so relishing in some books of devotion, and so necessary



As " in the world, if he were to peruse
" this treatise, would be of the very
" same opinion, and

fary to keep up the heat of the true enthusiast. "A judgment this, says *Dr. Fortin*, worthy of him; and every fanatic ~~like him~~, would want something more "pathetic and savoury, something with "more *unction*, and less morality and common sense." Whether Mr. *P.* belongs to that society or no, signifies nothing: we apprehend however, he knows as little of *Erasmus*, and is as much a stranger to his writings, as if he, as well as *Loyola's* disciples, had been forbid to read them; for he has accused him of maintaining some principles, which the general tenor of his writings do evidently contradict.

The great object that *Erasmus* seems to have in view in his religious treatises, is, by manly and sensible argumentation, to inculcate the true nature and end of devotion; and to demonstrate, that it does not so much consist, in a form of words, in ridiculous ceremonies, or a round of external duties, as in the inward affection and disposition of the heart. Though this was fixing religion upon its true basis, it is inconceivable, how greatly it exasperated the zealots of the church of *Rome*. By exposing the folly of their artificial incitements to devotion, they were sensible, that his writings, if attended to, would rob them

of their profit, and hurt their influence.

Hinc illæ lacrymæ!

P. 159./
186 By this craft they had their gain: and it was natural for them, to raise an outcry against the bold disturber of their ease and power. A man of superiour endowments, could not but abhor the superstitious fooleries, that had crept in by degrees into the religious offices of the church; where genuine devotion was lost in shew and foppery, and the *divine plan of belief and practice* was almost totally obliterated, by a rigorous and servile attention to the externals of bodily worship.

Seeing this lamentable decay of true piety, *Erasmus*, who had a keen pen, could not help lashing the ignorance, and the vices of the ecclesiastics: ~~and~~ he hoped, that what was wanting in authority, would be compensated by the weight of his arguments; and that to laugh at a fool, or a blockhead, would, if not reform him, at least inform others. Christianity therefore, as well as learning, owes a great deal to his memory, for his noble endeavours to draw men, from resting in the circumstantials, to attend to the fundamentals of religion. In this light he appears to great advantage, the foe to cant and hypocrisy, the friend to manly and rational piety. But great justice having lately been done to the
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but not without abundant provo-
-cation,

* It is ever complaining of y^e. inveterate Malice
of his bigotted adversaries who condemn'd his Works
without giving themselves the trouble to read them.
He gives his Friend Morellanus, in one of his Letters to
Him, many Instances of this unfair, illiberal, &
~~unorthodox~~ treatment; & accuses him, Itaq; fere
unscholastic.

iam qui
est iuxta
et Nobis.

memory and character of *Erasmus*, in an impartial and admirable performance, we refer the reader to Dr. *Fortin's* life of this extraordinary personage, as deeming it rather a more correct criterion to judge of his merits, than Mr. *P's* motly description; as it is drawn from a masterly knowledge of the history of that age, and the writings of *Erasmus* himself.

We have reason to think, that Mr. *P.* is almost as much a stranger to the works of *Erasmus*, as we have ~~known~~ him to be to those of *Luther*. This will appear, by examining the several particulars of his opprobrious accusations against him. His first charge is, ~~the~~ outrageous flights of impiety, — against the devotion paid to the mother of our redeemer. ~~His~~ references, in support of this assertion, are the dialogue

1 In that epistle of *Erasmus* to *Luther*, which our author, by referring to, whilst he is drawing *Erasmus's* picture, would make us believe, he hath read, there is something said, which if one, of whose worth and abilities, Mr. *P.* hath the highest opinion, had properly attended to, he might have profited by. In that letter, *Erasmus* tells *Luther*, what good advice he had given the gentry of *Louvain*, that reformer's teizing adversaries, *Tantum admonui* (says he,) *ne libris tuis nondum lectis, ad populum tam odiose vociferarentur* But this kindness was thrown away, for he adds, *nihil profectum est: huc usque insaniunt obliquis imo famosis suis disputationibus*. *Erasmus*, as well as *Luther*, has suffered plentifully by the retailing collectors of party prejudice. ✠

Pere-

Peregrin. Rel. ergò, and a note in his commentary on the first chapter of St. Luke's gospel. In ~~the~~ dialogue, *Erasmus* with a severity, and sneer, which true piety will justify, laugheth at the abominable folly and superstition of those absurd enthusiasts, who tramped from one country to another, to perform imaginary devotions to imaginary saints, in places sanctified by fraud and knavery to the purposes of religious delusion. To give a keener edge to his satire, he hath recourse to a pious trick often played by the monks; pleasantly feigning a letter supposed to be written by a famous stone image of the *Virgin Mary* in the neighbourhood of *Basil*, and gravely told by a zealous pilgrim, relating his rambles to different temples, in distant kingdoms, consecrated to her honour, and to that of other saints. With an indignation becoming one, who had the interest of truth and religion seriously at heart, he exposed the absurdity of this spiritual *Quixotism*, in thus running to every place and image, reputed to be endued with a wonder-working power, to the disgrace of religion, and the total neglect of social and domestic duties. His general aim in this, and indeed in all the colloquies, was "to cure the bigotted world, "if he could, of that superstitious devotion, which the monks inculcated more
" sedu-

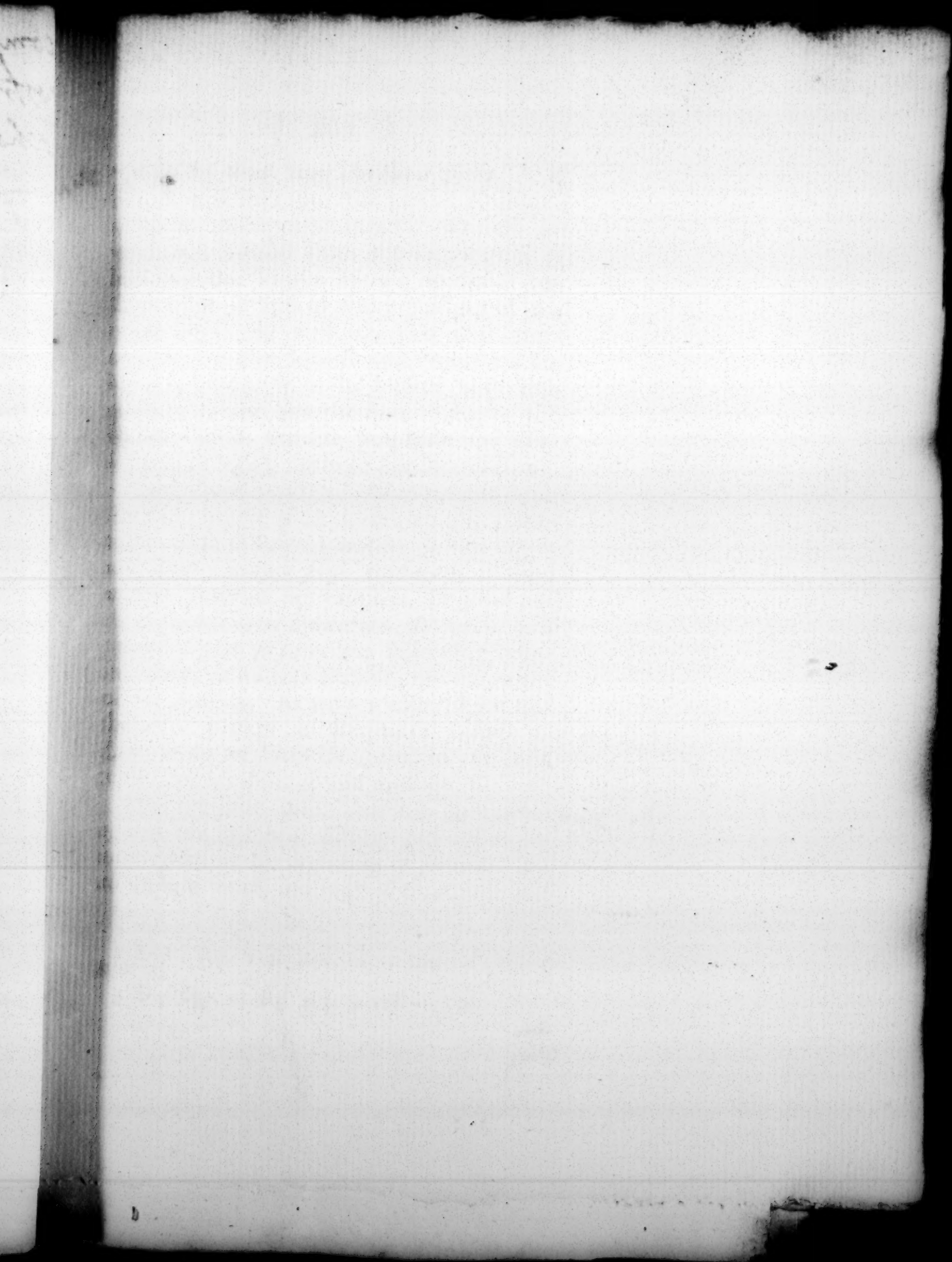
comperio, ^(says he) nullos odiosius clamitare, quam qui
nostra non legunt, & adds afterwards, ades juxta
Tychonii dictum, Quod volumus, sanctum est Nobis.
Ep: L. 6. p 242.

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use "dulously than true christian piety." ¹ If Mr. P. will look into that part of *Erasmus's* reply to the *Spanish* monks, wherein he vindicates himself from the imputation of lessening the *Virgin Mary's* honour, ² besides what is said in many passages of his other books, he will see, that that great man had a due respect and veneration for her; and that, what he treated with such contempt, was, not the honour due to the blessed Virgin, but the prophane and nauseous application made to her intercession.

The offensive part of the comment upon the first chapter of *St. Luke's* gospel, I take to be these following words, *sacram virginem duplici nomine fuisse turbatam, & quod videret juvenem ingredientem, & quod audiret salutationem amatoriam, & nescio quid procorum præ se ferentem*, following herein chiefly, as he says himself, the comment of *St. Ambrose*. As we are referred for this shameful passage to *Erasmus's answer to P. 159* / 101 Lee; so do we likewise appeal to the same ^{note.} reply, for his defence and apology. ³

We are next told, that his *six reasons* ~~against~~ *is* against the custom of having recourse to her intercession, at the beginning of sermons, are all ~~of that~~ weak, and most of them false and

¹ Fortin's *Erasmus*, v. 1. p. 296.

² *Erasmi Opp.* v. 9. *Basil.* ed. p. 884. *De honore B. V. M.*

³ *Eras. Opp.* ed. *Bas.* v. 9. p. 128 ---- 130.

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profane: referring us, but without condescending to name edition, page, or book, to the *Ecclesiastes*. By this general reference to a large work, we shrewdly suspect, Mr. P. does not speak this of his own knowledge. Had he taken the pains to consult the book itself, he would have found it a very difficult task, to make them half as many as *six*: and the reasons which *Erasmus* doth assign, are neither weak, nor false, nor profane. They occur in the second book, where he says, this custom of thus invoking of the B.V. M. is, 1. Without the authority of SS. and 2. Against the example of all antiquity: adding moreover, but not as different reasons, only as illustrations of the former two, that such a practice is often impertinently, often falsely applied; concluding in these words, *sed quid opus est, præter SS. auctoritatem, præter veterum patrum exemplum, consuetudinem inducere quæ egeat excusatione.*

^{ib}
P. 159. In consequence of these principles, our author tells us, that he informs one of his acquaintance, that though he had ~~wrote~~ some things to the honour of the blessed Virgin, it was against his will. Pretty extraordinary! if he could mean either of the treatises above mentioned: for ~~this letter to Colet~~ was

~~which were referred to,~~

1 *Ecclesiastes*, L. 2. p. 258, 259. ed. Basil. 12°. 1544.

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written many years before either his *Colloquies*, or his *Ecclesiastes*, were published. But anachronisms are nothing with Mr. P: who, if he had been conversant with *Erasmus's* works, would have put a more candid interpretation upon his not relishing the *Pæan* or hymn to the Virgin *Mary*. It is not, in the letter referred to, expressed in the strong manner represented by Mr. P. and the reason of his disliking it, was not so much for the subject matter, as the style of it. It was composed to oblige the marchioness of *Vere*, and written *stylo juvenili, & ad illius affectum accommodato, potius quam ad meum judicium*; as he informed his friend *Botzem*, when he gave him an account of his writings, in the letter prefixed to the *Basil* edition of his works. "It is indeed a puerile performance, in a poetical, tumid, idolatrous style." ² This was reason enough, for his cool and maturer judgment to dislike it: and though he could not but, as a christian, deem the *mother of our Redeemer*, *blest above women*; yet he could not in his heart approve, of that unwarranted incense offered up to her, in de-

¹ This letter to *Colet* was written in 1504.

The *Colloquies* were published in 1522.

The *Ecclesiastes* was published in 1535.

² *Jortin's Erasmus*, v. 2. p. 200. *Erasmus's* letter to *Botzem* is also in this 2d vol. of Dr. *Jortin*, p. 415.

spight,

spight, as it was, of her son's sole mediation.

P. 160.
181

The commendations bestowed upon *Luther's* writings, make another charge against *Erasmus*. The letter here found fault with, is a civil and courteous one, in reply to an excellent one from *Luther*; in which he speaks very respectfully of that reformer, and his doctrine. He gives him indeed a little caution against too much vehemency; not that *Luther* had then shewn any thing of that spirit, or that *Erasmus* suspected it; only he was afraid, the warmth of controversy might irritate each party to some excesses. As to *Luther* himself, this was but the beginning of his preaching, in 1519, when he had hitherto distinguished himself, only by opposing the sale and traffic of indulgences: and therefore the encouragement of, *hæc non admoneo ut facias, sed ut quod facis perpetuo facias*, might, without offence, be applied to *Luther*, whose letter to him was full of the greatest modesty and humility; and who, at that time, proceeded with

ib
~~P. 160.~~
note.

inter

1 *Luther's* letter to *Erasmus*. ~~*Erasmus's*~~ p. 243, and *Erasmus's* reply, p. 244.

When Mr. P. talks of *Erasmus's* praising *Luther* and his writings, he forgets how much he differs in that opinion from his great friend *Quirini*. For ~~he says~~ *Sexcenta sunt in Erasmi epistolis, aliisque ejus lucubrationibus loca, quibus reformationem a Luthero, aliisque ejus sodalibus, seu discipulis procreatam irridet, atque execratur.*

Quirini, v. 2. Diat. p. CLXXIII.

great



~~Handwritten~~ inter Eras: Ep: Lib. 6.

he says, and with much greater knowledge, judge-
ment, and truth than his Transcriber,

□ Indeed, as if he was apprehensive of such an injuri-
-ous, hasty Representation of his Opinion; he frequently uses
this cautious Mode of Expression: particularly distin-
-guishing between dipping & perusing, to prevent, most
undoubtedly, his Words from being interpreted, as any
ways denoting a Consent to, or approbation of Luther's
Writings. Thus, besides in y^e above cited Letter to Rosemund,
this very Expression occurs in another to y^e same correspon-
-dent written y^e following Year. v Ep. L. 15. p 494. In one
written to y^e ~~Cardinal Archbishop of Mentz~~ ^{Electo} in 1519. v Ep. L. 12.
p. 400. In a 3^d addressed to Cardinal Campegio in 1520. Ep. L. 14.
p 446. & in 7 other Places to y^e same Purpose.

2. †: Segustavi, (says Erasmus in his Letter to Luther)
Commentarios tuos in Psalmos. &c What He meant
by this Word Segustavi, was only that he had dipped
into that work. Mr P, indeed, renders it perused, by
rather a too strong a Construction of the Word, which
signifies that He had only cursorily ran over the Book.
Let Erasmus speak for himself, & be his own Interpreter.
In the ^{very same} ~~next~~ Year ^{writing} in a Letter to Rosemund Moderator
of the University of Louvain He thus expresses himself,
speaking of Luther's works, scilicet Libros illius ^{numquam}
studius legere, propter paucas pagellas, easq;
legeram. ~~se guster quam sepe videram~~ degnostatas
verius quam lectos ~~se guster quam sepe videram~~
Ep: Erasmii Lib 15. p 415. □ Thus, also, does he
express himself ^{writing to another friend} in the year following. Si

- Segustavi. Ep: Leonix P. L. 14. 452
— Ep. Jona. (1521) L. 17. p. 551.
— Ep: Ploensis. L. 19. p. 610. non de Lute
— Card: Sadoletto. L. 19. p. 658. — Lute
— Maximilianus. L. 19 p. 695 —
— Cochlaeo L. 23. p. 909. non de L
— Petro & Christophoro Meisus. L. 27. p. 1090.

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at fear and diffidence. He tells him, *he*
had perused his commentaries on the Psalms,
and loved them much, and hoped they would prove
useful. 2 Mr. P, willing to shew his learn-
 ing, kindly tells his reader, with a sneer,
that equally orthodox and edifying doctrines P. 160. / 1st 2
these commentaries contain. And has he read ^{note.}
 any of this heresiarch's writing? or is this
 only, as usual, a random charge? Had
Erasmus found any of these heretical doc-
 trines in the commentaries he praised, he
 must have been almost as sharp-sighted as
 Mr. P. *Luther*, when this letter was writ-
 ten, was no heretic: neither did he then,
 or for some years after, hold or teach the
 doctrines here ascribed to him; and some
 of them he never was so absurd to main-
 tain. All the commentaries he had then
 published were two harmless ones, the one
 upon the seven penitential, the other upon
 the 110th, Psalms. And these commenta-

1 In 1517 *Luther* had published a comment on the
 seven penitential Psalms, in German, which *Seckendorf*
 thus characterizes, *etsi vero annis sequentibus majori luce*
& spiritu materiam Psalmorum horum tractavit, insignia
tamen orthodoxæ theologiæ, & eruditæ paraphraseos docu-
menta eum jam tum dedisse, lectores facile deprehendent.
 Of the other comment upon the 110th Psalm, he thus
 speaks, *in hac acerbè invehitur in Picardos seu Bohemos,*
qui ex ecclesia Romana ob vitia sacerdotum secesserint, eos-
que pro hæreticis & blasphemis habet. Et, ad v. 4. sa-
cerdotium Melchizedeci æternum ad sacramentum cœnæ
applicat.

Seckendorf Index. 3. scriptorum Lutheri. I am aware,
 that

2 ✕

ries contained nothing, that could offend the most orthodox catholic.

P. 160.
182

But *Erasmus* preferred the marriage state to celibacy, and set forth its privileges with such indecency, that a Cynic could not have other ideas, nor cloath them in coarser terms. Mr. P's ideas of purity must be extremely delicate indeed, to censure, in so unfair a manner, that juvenile declamation in praise of matrimony, addressed by *Erasmus* to his pupil Lord Mountjoy: and if by giving a right turn to the youthful passions of that nobleman, he encouraged him to enter into that state which is honourable in all men, what serious man could refuse to praise him for it? But it seems he preferred it to celibacy. And who should not? but he did not prefer it to virginity. As he knew the flagrant lewdnesses committed by many, who were under the vows of constrained celibacy, it was a commendable act of piety to expose the absurd rigour of such vows; and to call men from indulging in that tur-

1^e/

that there is in *Luther's* works (3^d vol. *Witt.* ed.) a comment or lectures on the the first 22 Psalms, with a dedication to the elector of *Saxony*, and a recommendatory epistle of *Melanchton* both dated the beginning of 1519. But as these lectures were only begun in the month of *March* that year, and continued that and the 2 following years, and were not published till 1524; it may well be doubted, whether *Erasmus* could see them so early as in *May* 1519. See *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 94. and p. 134.

pitude

Lutheranus est, qui tuetur quicquid Lutherus
scripsit, aut scripturus est, quid me dementius,
si Lutheranus haberi^{velim}, quum illius Libros non legam?
v. Ep. Guil. Montjoio (dat 1521) Lib 17. p 561. And
again, some years afterwards, he ventured to appeal
to Pellican, & ~~to Garrell~~, to purge himself from such
unjust accusations, ~~to the former he says~~ his me
says he, in nullo Dogmate per omnia sentire cum Luther,
nisi quod tacet nimium vere tacet corruptos
Hominum mores. In a subsequent Letter he reflects
upon Garrell as spreading this Lye of him, me recte
sentire, sed non audere profiteri. Et hoc audet
instillare auribus Hominum, conscius quam acis
mibi fuerit de omnibus fere Lutheri Dogmatibus
cum ipso Contentio. Eras. Ep Lib 19 a d 1526/p. 677.
We hope this will satisfy M^r P. & if he will neither
take my word, nor Quirini's, let him, not dip into,
but peruse Erasmus's Letters himself, & then, perhaps,
he may like him the better ^{for} ~~from~~ ^{many} ~~other~~ ^{things} ~~reflections~~
will find ~~throughout~~ in them against Luther &
his Followers.



108

2. X. They no doubt, were of the same Opinion in this Case, with that most upright Dutch Magistrate, Joost Lovering or Laurence who, as a principal Member of the Inquisition, presided as a civil Magistrate, at the trial of John Pistorius, or de Backer, who was ~~condemned~~ ^{condemned} at y^e Hague (A.D. 1525) for that unpardonable Heresy of Clerical Marriage; when these memorable expressions dropped from that worthy Judge's Mouth at the Condemnation of poor Backer, that he wished the Man had had to

pititude of behaviour, which it was a shame to speak of; and to admonish them to restrain those desires by the purity of a chaste marriage, against those deep divines and sound casuists, who held *simple fornication to be no sin.*² This raised the outcry of the zealots against him; and obliged him to take more notice of their pitiful objections than they deserved, by honouring some of them with a reply. This defence of *Erasmus* against his minute adversaries, Mr. P, with his usual partiality, entirely omit-teth.¹

Our biographer, persevering in his abuse ~~p. 160~~ *ib* of poor *Erasmus*, though a priest, he says, and advanced in years, he relates his gallantries in England, in a style more becoming the stews than the monastery. We have here a fresh instance of Mr. P's spleen, ignorance,

¹ *Non arbitror rem esse periculosam laudare matrimonium, præsertim cum a me laudatur matrimonium simillimum Virginitati, in quo uxor gignendæ proli, non libidini habetur. . . . Sanctissimum est vitæ genus pure casteque conjugium. . . . nunc nusquam reperias minus inquinatam morum integritatem, quam apud conjugatos . . . non de vitæ genere sed de morum corruptela loquor.*

Eras. Apol. Declam. matrimonii, p. 91. & Apol. adversus monachos Hispanos, p. 871. Eras. Opp. ed. Basil. v. 9. Upon this subject we will beg leave to recommend to Mr. P. serious perusal *Erasmus's, Virginis & Martyris comparatio*. And he will be convinced that *Erasmus* had noble sentiments of true virginity, and such, as even he, with all his spleen against him, cannot but admire and approve.

and

and injustice, in the very malevolent turn he hath given ~~to~~ a jocular, chearful letter ~~wrote~~ in 1499, to *Faustus Andrelinus* poet laureat to the King of *France* by *Erasmus* who was then of *the advanced age of 32*, or according to *Possevin's* calculation, *only 30.*¹ He was, at that time, in *England*: and, from his ~~the~~ flow of spirits, we may easily guess how much he was esteemed and beloved by his friends here. With the highest good humour, and pleasantry, he tells his correspondent, of the surprizing improvements he had made, in politeness as a courtier, and in country amusements as a sportsman. He tells him likewise, of the agreeable and polite custom of saluting the ladies; this, he adds with great mirth, should be inducement enough for a poet to come, and partake of the pleasures of such engaging company and conversation. Where now is the sin, or the shame of all this sprightly jesting? are the laws of modesty and chastity infringed by a jocular recital of that familiarity with the ladies, which the fashion² of the times

¹ *Dupin hist. eccles. 16 cent. 1st. p^r. p. 263. Note.*

² As this letter of *Erasmus* to *Andrelinus*, is but short, it will not, I hope, be disagreeable to give a few extracts from it. The genteel compliment paid our nation, must give us pleasure; and the regard he shewed to the *English* ladies, should be as well known, as his respect for the gentlemen. *Erasmus ille, quem nosti, jam bonus propemodum venator est, eques non pessimus, Aulicus non imperitus, salutat paulo blandius, arridet comius, & invita*

1st written

1² his

† do with ten pocky Whores, when he thought of mar-
-rying, rather than have given him so much trouble.

v Brandt's Hist: Ref: v. 1. p. 52. 53.

11 wanton
12 what



rendered both innocent and civil. Were we disposed to be severe upon this occasion, the prudish affectation of Mr. P. hath given us advantage enough; but we will spare him, and content ourselves with observing, that they who can improve such harmless expressions of natural, youthful gaiety, into gallantries of an impure and wicked tendency, must have either a very bad heart, or very ~~strange~~ ideas. ~~Qui caput de se agit~~ And after all, ~~What~~ is Erasmus's boasting of the salutes of modest women, to Eneas Sylvius's glorying, though a priest and advanced in years, in the lewdest language, of his debaucheries, and repining at the approach of age: and yet this man, under the name of Pius the 2d, "was one of the
"most respectable of all the Roman pon-

*invita Minerva hæc omnia. . . . Tu quoque si sapias,
huc advolabis. . . . Quamquam si Britannicæ dotes satis
pernoctes Fauste, nã tu alatis pedibus huc accurreres: &
si podagra tua non sineret, Dædalum te fieri optares. . . .
Sunt hic Nymphæ divinis vultibus, blandæ, faciles, &
quas tu, tuis camænis facile anteponas. Est præterea mos
nunquam satis laudatus, sive quo venias, omnium osculis ex-
ciperis: sive discedas aliquo, osculis dimitteris: redi red-
duntur suavia: venit ad te propinantur suavia: disceditur
abs te, dividuntur basia: occurritur alicubi, basiatur affatim,
denique quocunque te moveas, suaviorum plena sunt omnia.
Quæ si tu Fauste gustasses semel quam sint mollicula, quam
fragrantia, profecto cuperes non decennium solum, ut Solon
fecit, sed ad mortem usque in Anglia peregrinari. Cætera
coram jocabimur. Nam videbo te, spero, propediem. Vale.*

*Ex Anglia anno 1499. Ep. Eras. L. 5. Fausto An-
drelino, p. 222.*

O

"tiffs."

P. 160. / "tiffs." ¹⁸² Mr. *Phillips*, not yet tired of abusing *Erasmus*, affirmeth, that when he speaks of auricular confession, every assertion is an error. It is well he says this out of

P. 161. / the reach of the inquisition, or that holy office would censure him for dissenting from ¹⁸³ the spirit of the catholic church and her rule of rectitude. For surely the first book of the *Exomologesis* is every way unexceptionable; and tho' he does, in the second, consider some inconveniencies that may happen, and particularly at the conclusion, makes this true and just reflection, which I guess to be the passage so offensive to godly Mr. *P*, "that sin by being too frequently confessed may come to be less frightful to us, and a penitent loses by little and little his shamefacedness, which is the surest way to preserve his innocence:" yet does he proceed to answer all these objections, and in a way sufficient to satisfy any objector, that his intention in this treatise was not to set auricular confession aside, but only to propose some rules, that both priest and penitent might most advantageously perform that duty. ² It must

¹ *Gilpin's* lives of the reformers. Postscript, p. 367, 368.

² *Dupin* eccles. hist. 16 century, p^t. I. p. 315. It was not so much this doctrine, as the scandalous abuse of it, that *Erasmus* so frequently inveighed against. ~~✱~~ *mundus plenus est fabularum de flagitiis ac sceleribus quæ sub umbra confessionis admittuntur, ... ut vel sola*

† ~~Hac non ago~~, (says he In Libello de modo confitendi,
(says Erasmus, defending himself, from y^t very calumny
here renewed against him) non hoc ago, ne confiteamur,
sed ut utiliter confiteamur. Id efficere non poteram,
nisi propositis quibusdam incommodis, quae non
adscribo Confessioni, sed vitio confitentium et
audientium. Jam quum totus

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indeed be owned, that high as his opinion was of the usefulness or necessity of it: yet he did not think *auricular confession* instituted by Christ or his apostles, but only looked upon it as a positive law enjoined by the church, and upon the same authority as that group of human ordinances, mentioned by our writer, such as *the distinction of food, the observance of Lent, and other appointed fasts, and the single life of the clergy*; all which, as being doctrines of men, he had no higher reverence for than they deserved.

The monastic profession, and the monks, he did indeed treat with the contempt they richly merited at his hands. He found them sworn foes to true learning and piety; the pests of society; and the haters of reformation in every shape. When any man of learning appeared at any time, they immediately took the alarm: and whom they could not confute by argument, they endeavoured to silence by reproaches. *Eras-*

sola commemoratio posset lectoris animum inficere. Verum monachi complures non amore pietatis urgent hanc confessionem, sed quod hinc auferant luculentam messem, dum regnant in ædibus divitum, quorum secreta norunt, dum adsunt morientibus, dum arrodunt testamenta. Considerent lernam malorum, quæ hætenus orta est ex confessionibus, & mirari desinent, si quid admonui de recte confitendo.

Eras. Ep. Episcopo cuidam cited by Sachse, L. 72. p. 853.
 See also his reply *ad notationes novas Lei. v. 9.*
p. 214. ed. Bas.

mus's whole life, was a life of altercation with these troublesome hornets; who were always teizing, and insulting him. As he knew them, and their actions well, he hath, in numberless places of his works, drawn their portraiture at full length. Tho' he could not but despise their ignorance and absurdity, yet he sometimes vouchsafed to chastize their insolence: and many of his most formidable adversaries are now only known, by the honour he hath done them, in recording their names, as bigots and persecutors, as inflexible opponents to science and the liberal arts. Having had his education in a convent, he saw the monks more attentive to the idle forms and stupid ceremonies of their rule, than the advancement of religion and learning. The like detestation of them, and from the same sources, knowledge and experience, had the reforming *Luther*; who exerted himself equally against them. He, and *Erasmus* well knew, that monasteries were too often the seminaries of vice, ignorance, and credulity: and they looked upon it, as their duty, to check the progress of enthusiasm,

¹ *Erasmi, Ecclesiastes*, L. 2. p. 345, 346. and L. 3. p. 468. edit. *Bas.* 12°. 1544. See also *Ep. Paulo Volzio*, L. 23. p. 892. and *Ep. Lamberto Grunnio*, L. 24. p. 924 where *Erasmus* is supposed to mean himself under the name of *Florentius*.

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† Augustinus dicit nusquam rectius vivi quam in
 Monasteriis, nusquam periculosius errari. Quid
 nunc diceret, si videret multa monasteria, quae nihil
 differunt a publicis Lupanaribus: quid de Monachorum
 multis Collegiis in quibus nihil minus reperias quam
 castitatem? De nostratibus Monasteriis loquor. Sc
 Erasmus Ep. L 22. p 856. Episcopo cuidam.

which was still founding fresh orders of the professed, and still increasing the number and wealth of convents. Places, which though originally built, and endowed under the specious pretences of promoting the spiritual state, they could not but consider, as a nuisance, and a detriment to the sacred cause of christianity.¹

We are told, by Mr. P, that *this affinity* P. 161. / 108 of sentiments, in this and numberless other articles, produced the consideration, which Luther, in his turn, had for Erasmus. When Luther first opposed that enormous corruption of christianity, the doctrine of indulgences, he hoped, from the turn and temper of Erasmus, to be seconded by him. He had seen, and read with pleasure, his *Enchiridion Militis Christiani*: and judging from thence of their mutual agreement, he sent him that very modest and respectful letter, before hinted at, and here referred to; in which, though Luther does not say, he read his works with the greatest application, and found his chief delight in them, yet does he address him in the most humble, cour-

ation.

¹ Voluit autem Dominus (ut nunc video) academiarum sapientias, & monasteriorum sanctitates propria & certa experientia, hoc est multis peccatis & impietatibus mihi notas fieri, ne impiis hominibus occasio fieret in futurum adversarium gloriandi, quod ignota damnares.

Lutheri de votis monasticis ep. dedic. ad patrem, v. 2. Wutt. p. 269. †

teous, and civil manner. ' But *Erasmus* had not his spirit : and however well he wished him, yet, as *Luther* was to struggle by himself, unsupported by the authority of the great, his natural timidity and love of ease prevented him, first from joining forces with him, and afterwards obliged him to break off all communication with him and his party. And hence the bigots and the dunces, knowing this foible of *Erasmus*, attacked him with even more severity, than they did *Luther* ; charging him with laying those eggs, which the other's ~~hatched~~ hatched.

~~P. 161~~ *ib.* But a Lutheran writer, says Mr. P, exposed his inconsistencies in a work addressed to the publick. The impetuous *Hutten*, in the warmth of resentment for a supposed affront or slight shewed him by *Erasmus*, did publish an invective against him, ~~What the title of this work was, does not clearly appear: but,~~ because *Erasmus*, in the too

1 Nunc quando --- intellexi, per nugas illas indulgentiarum nomen meum tibi cognitum . . . non modo tibi visa esse, sed & accepta mea fabulamenta, cogor agnoscere egregium tuum spiritum . . . Si ita ~~X~~ tibi visum fuerit, agnosce hunc fraterculum in Christo . . . pro inscitia sua nihil meritum, quam ut in Angulo sepultus, communi etiam caelo & soli ignotus esset . . . Et nescio quo fato . . . ut cogar, multo pudore pati meas ignominias, & infelicem inscitiam, etiam coram doctis versari, & jactari.

Lutherus Eras. inter Eras. Ep. L. 6. p. 243.

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is warmth

* published under the angry title of an expostulation:
and,



† The title of Hutton's Book is this, Ulrichi
ab Hutton cum Erasmo Rotterodamo Presby-
-tero Theologo Expostulatio.

great notice he took of it, called his reply *Spongia adversus Aspergines Hutteni*,¹ our learned writer refers to it under that appellation; and tells us moreover, that *Erasmus*, in his apology, appears almost as zealous a defender of *Luther's* tenets, as he who broached them; citing at the bottom of the page, *Apolog. Senatui Argentin.* But as *Erasmus* published no treatise or apology under that title, and tho' an epistle be somewhat different from an apology; we guess he means nothing more than the letter to the senate of *Strasburgh*, which does not shew him to be at all a zealous defender of *Luther's* tenets: and what *Erasmus* says favourably of *Luther* in that letter, has already been considered.²

But impiety took a still bolder flight, when he endeavoured to weaken or elude all the proofs which the scripture furnishes of the divinity of *Jesus Christ*. If *Mr. P.* was at all conversant in *Erasmus's* writings, he surely never would have made so presumptuous and false an assertion: for he holdeth the proper divinity of the son, in as strong terms, as even the orthodox *Mr. P.*

¹ See the account of this quarrel between *Hutten* and *Erasmus*, in the *Spongia*. *Eraf. Op.* v. 9. p. 1340. and in *Jortin's* life of him, v. 1. p. 305, and ~~304~~ and v. 2. p. 277. and *Seckendorf*, L. 1. p. 140. ~~if~~

² P. 11.

can require. Such a voluminous writer may easily be misunderstood; and he could not help the ill use that some warm and eager controversialists made of his great name and authority; for he himself was ever steady in the belief of this doctrine.¹ Whence then all this rancour against him? He gave up (it seems) some weak and inconclusive arguments; and did not press into his service all those texts of SS, which some zealous urged to prove a doctrine, sufficiently clear and established without them. As *Erasmus* wrote against the *Arians*; and to vindicate himself from any imputation of favouring them, he solemnly declared, that he abhorred their sentiments; how very cruel and disingenuous is it, to continue and repeat the charge, as if it was confessed and notorious! An humane and candid adversary, after such asseverations, would scorn to take any advantage of an unguarded expression, that might accidentally slip from his pen; or to insult his memory, by transmitting the calumnies of bitter, and long forgotten, enemies.

But Mr. *P*, far from this generosity of temper, rakes up every thing he can col-

¹ See, amongst other of his writings, to name no more, *explicatio symbol. apostol. & decalog.* p. 95. *Leyden* edit. in 24°. 1641. the *Apol. adversus Stunicam*, in *Jo-han.* 1. p. 258, and the *responsio ad monachos Hispanos.* p. 846. *Eras. Opp.* v. 9.

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N in his Possession

lect, or mistake, concerning *Erasmus*; averring, that *he asserts the church to be nowhere visible, and was about to compose the epitaph of Jesus Christ, as one who was no more, since Luther's breast alone contained a few sparks of the gospel.* And where does *Erasmus* say this? seriously no where. One *Bedda*, a furious divine of *Paris*, "had exerted his malice in collecting various and detached passages from *Erasmus*, which seemed to favour the *Lutherans*. . . . At the conclusion of his defence, *Erasmus* says, if the church is not supported by a better *Atlas*, it is high time to write its epitaph . . . I have nothing, says he, in common with the sentiments of *Luther*: but it cannot be denied that the doctrine of *Luther* approacheth much nearer to the true spirit of christianity, than the theology of *Bedda*." ¹ Our writer adds, *I omit what he says against the freedom of our will.* Kindly done indeed! If he has ² such a treatise of *Erasmus*, it is bound up, I suppose, in the same volume with dean *Colet's* commentaries on the *SS*; ² and kept, as a rarity, in his own study. From what *Erasmus* communicated to the world himself, it appears, that so far from saying any thing against the freedom of our

¹ Fortin's *Erasmus*, v. 2. p. 113.

² Life of *Pole*, p. 46.

will,

will, he really and truly contended, in the right sense, strenuously for it, in his memorable controversy with *Luther*, who maintained the doctrine of fate and necessity; the one writing *pro libero*, the other *pro servo arbitrio*.

P. 162. / Thus have we gone through Mr. *P*'s ca-
185 / lumnies against *Erasmus*. And if this sub-
ject has been too much lengthened out, we hope to be excused: as we esteemed it a debt of justice and gratitude to this great character, to endeavour to clear it from the mistakes and misrepresentations of our biographer; who, far from cultivating that amiable spirit of candour and moderation, which is inseparable from true learning, puts every thing in an odious light; and rejoices in every opportunity of expressing that animosity and malice, which is equally a violation of the laws of humanity and christianity. And however Mr. *P*. may plead his zeal for the peculiarities of his religious principles; yet it cannot but raise in others, a just abhorrence of that religion, which encourages such outrageous acts of slander and defamation against the dead, as well as persecution against the living.

P. 163. / The cardinal's late promotion gave occa-
185 / sion, as Mr. *P*. tells us, to this digression;
that is to say, because *Hofius*, in a congratulatory letter to *Pole*, had given an indica-
P. 154. / tion
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tion of his sense of Erasmus's merit, he therefore thought himself obliged to abuse him: and, to display his own great stock of learning, has picked up the dirt, which they, who have little or no reputation of their own to lose, have tried to fix upon Erasmus. But when Mr. P. returns to his hero, he is so elevated with his late exertion of zeal, that being in the proper humour of finding fault, he abruptly leaves the cardinal, whilst he is answering the Doge of Venice's letter; and steps from him and Italy, to Henry and England. Things were going on in that country, in such a manner, he says, that the new cardinal, would soon have an opportunity of exerting himself in P. 164./186
her behalf. Henry (it seems) had no sooner P. 165./187
assumed the supremacy of the church, — than one of the first acts of his spiritual power, was to suppress all religious houses, of both sexes, whose yearly income was under 300 marks, or 200 pounds, and seize the revenues for his own use. He, who will take upon himself to defend all the proceedings in the suppression of these, and afterwards of the greater monasteries, must be an hardy man indeed; and yet, surely, there is none so zealous, as to be an advocate for them altogether.

Like all other institutions, they had strangely deviated from their original appointment: and what was at first intended

as

P. 3.

as a retreat from persecution, degenerated, by folly and length of time, into flying from the world, from the duties of social and relative life, and from all the active offices of humanity, to serve God in uncommanded acts of solitary strictnesses. In *the iron age of ignorance and barbarism*, when superstition and enthusiasm prevailed in the church, proud and ambitious men found their account in copying, upon other views, the rigid austerities of the first monks: the monastic state was looked upon, as the only state of perfection. By degrees, and the blessings of ignorance, monks and monkery increased to an astonishing height, both with respect to variety of rules and orders, and the numbers of professed in each order: some of which, one would imagine, were only founded, and permitted, to shew how far folly and enthusiasm could carry men; and to give the world a sure, but melancholy proof, how naturally superstition tends to enfeeble the mind, to draw it off from the duties of true religion, and make it contemptible and ridiculous. But a false notion of piety had deluded the world: and whilst men were ignorant of the true spirit of christianity, some fanatical saint or spiritual inamorato, served to found, or dignify each respective order; and to promote the cause, by ~~their~~ miracles, and pretended relics.

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In our own country we had our full share: and the monastic state, sheltering itself under the pretension of being consecrated to God, triumphed in ease, and power, and affluence; ~~their possessions~~ were continually increasing; and the laity had reason to apprehend, that, ~~in time they~~ might engross the best estates in the kingdom. ~~In process of time,~~ they had made good strides towards it: for ~~purposing~~ piety is ~~often~~ more fervent than discreet; and masses for the poor tormented souls in a fancied purgatory, would expiate the enormities of a profligate life. The Wealth, that the dead left behind them, would answer that expence. This made so many poor heirs, and so many rich convents; and was a comfortable and expeditious way of having the gates of paradise opened, at the expence of their executors. But whether their souls were released out of purgatory or no, their estates remained with the monastery; whose revenues, by this means, were daily augmented.

a Death-bed

Thus amassing riches and influence, the monks could not but give umbrage to the state. In the year 1410, the parliament petitioned Henry the 4th against them; signifying, that they made an ill use of their riches, and consumed their incomes, in a very different manner from their donor's intent; that their revenues ought to be lessened: —
that

that by this means the kingdom's safety would be better provided for, *the poor better maintained*, and the clergy more attached to their duty. ¹ And again, a few years afterwards, another parliament, which had just enacted very severe laws against the Lollards and heretics, addressed his successor, *Henry the 5th*, in 1414, upon the same considerations, and for the same purposes. — The clergy to avert, or at least weaken this storm, agreed to resign part of their riches to the King, to save the rest. They offered him the lands of all the *alien priories* being 110: and accordingly these were given to him by act of parliament, without the clergy's opposing it. ²

Besides this, there were instances in history, that the Popes had changed one order for another; and sometimes, out of the ~~omnipotency~~ of their power, had entirely abolished others. ³ The multiplicity of them had been long, and every where, complained of. *St. Augustin* (by some thought to have been a founder of one of the monkish orders) speaks like a good protestant reformer. *Luther* could not have expressed his censures, in stronger terms than these, "we cannot tell whether they became monks for purpose to serve God;

¹ *Rapin's hist.* v. 1. p. 500.

² *Id.* p. 509.

³ *Fuller's church hist.* B. 6. p. 301.

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or else, being weary of their poor and painful life, were rather desirous to be fed and cloathed, doing nothing:" and the alms they got, he did not scruple to call, "the charges of gainful poverty; and the price of feigned holiness." ¹ Bede, though a monk, both in his ecclesiastical history, and in his famous letter to Egbert arch-bishop of York, wrote a short time before his death, reckoned, that from their number, and the dissolute lives of the professed, they would prove prejudicial in the end to both church and state. ² And that they still continued to need a reformation, cannot be doubted, when he, who was the directing mind that guided the whole; and alone drew up the plan of reformation before mentioned, when even Pole himself, fully acknowledged, that amongst other grievances, these orders of monks and friars ought to be reformed. "For many of them are so vile, that they are a shame unto the seculars: and with their example do much ill. As for conventual or-

P. 140. / 159

4/17

¹ *Non apparet utrum ex proposito servitutis Dei venerint, an vitam inopem, & laboriosam fugientes, vacui pasci, & vestiri voluerint. --- And the alms that they got, are called sumptus lucrosæ egestatis: & simulatæ pretium sanctitatis.*

Augustinus de opere monach. cap. 22. & 28. cited in bishop Jewell's defence of the apology, p. 451.

² *Bede eccles. hist. L. 5. c. 4. and his Ep. ad Egbert, p. 258 --- 261. Bedæ opera theol. edit. Wharton.*

"ders,

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ders, we think it good they be all abolished."

The ease with which bishop *Fisher*, and cardinal *Wolsey*, had procured the suppression of several of the lesser monasteries in order to endow the colleges they were building, was an especial precedent to *Henry*, who was now declared the supreme head of the church of *England*: and in the dissolution of these religious houses, he did no more, than some of the most zealous churchmen had done before. From their amazing increase, and too often unguarded behaviour (to speak no ~~more~~) wise men were aware, they were too much overgrown to last long. And when bishop *Fox* of *Winchester*, in the beginning of this century, was inclined to found a monastery of the order of *St. Benedict*, he was dissuaded from it, by his friend bishop *Oldham* of *Exeter*,² and advised to build a college; because convents, he told him, possessed more than they would long enjoy, and per-

^ worse

¹ *Alius abusus corrigendus est in ordinibus religiosorum; quod adeo multi deformati sunt, ut magno sint scandalo sæcularibus, exemploque plurimum noceant. Conventuales ordines abolendos esse putamus omnes. Non tamen ut alicui fiat injuria, sed prohibendo, ne novos possint admittere. Sic enim sine ullius injuria cito deleantur, & boni religiosi eis substitui possint. Nunc vero putamus optimum fore, si omnes pueri, qui non sunt professi, ab eorum monasteriis repellerentur. Petr. Crabbe concil. tom. 3. conc. dilect. cardinal. p. 822.*

² *Wood hist. & antiq. Oxon. L. 2. p. 230.*

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haps they themselves might outlive them : ~~but~~ this was spoke at a time, when there could be no suspicion of their impending ruin. Upon this, the bishop of *Winchester* altered his mind, and founded *Corpus Christi* College in *Oxford* : a society by me never to be mentioned without the utmost gratitude and affection ; which hath reflected honour upon its founder ; and many of whose members have stood high in the annals of fame. A pleasing remembrance of former days presents itself :

*Nec me Foxi meminisse pigebit,
Dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit
artus.*

The kingdom, by these instances, may be said to be prepared for the alterations that succeeded. As the monastic societies were founded at first in superstition, and encouraged by ignorance and fanaticism, as soon as *learning* and *the polite arts* had ^{p. 3.} lighted up the sacred lamp of science, which, for some centuries, had been almost totally extinct ; it was natural to inquire into the validity of such donations, what power the donors had to vest their property in such unalienable tenures, and likewise how far the societies themselves had answered the end of their original foundation'. The

1 Bp. ~~Ellys~~ on spiritual liberty, p. 1. p. 225, &c.

monks must thank themselves for the rigour of this inquiry : their own imprudence had brought it upon them. They had irritated a violent and high-spirited prince : they had taken every opportunity, to insult him to his face, to blacken him in the minds of his subjects, to foment sedition, and to raise rebellions against him. *Henry*, thus provoked, was in self-defence obliged to humble their power and influence ; and to crush these seminaries of faction (as he found them to be) which otherwise, by their influence, might subvert his authority.

More effectually to discover the disorders that had been so greatly complained of in ~~that state~~, several commissioners were appointed for the visitation of these houses, previous to the parliamentary suppression of them ; that, from their representations, measures might accordingly be taken. The instructions given to the visitors, to regulate their inquiry, are distinctly set down by bishop *Burnet*¹ : and the account of their proceedings, in the execution of their commission, is preserved by that faithful historian Mr. *Strype*². These proceedings being laid before the parliament, brought on the acts for their dissolution, but first of the

¹ *Burnet*, v. i. records, p. 131.

² *Strype's* memorials, v. i. c. 35, throughout, p. 251, &c. See also *Burnet*, v. i. p. 190.

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lesser monasteries, “ which (says lord *Herbert*) though lamented by many . . . had these motives. The vitious and incorrigible lives of monastical persons, confessed, by the whole parliament: the lands not employed according to the intent of the donors and founders; divers superstitions, and forging of miracles practised amongst them¹.

Such an undertaking as this, where the maintenance of so many was concerned, could not possibly be prosecuted without complaint and opposition; neither (though in the main a beneficial step) without doing private injuries, and personal hardships. These useless foundations, for they were now become in a great measure such, upon the encouragement given to the universities, had so great a share of wealth and property, that if the *ancient superstition* had continued, the greatest and best part of the riches and influence of the nation ~~would have been~~ sunk into the hands of those, who contributed little, or nothing, to the support of it.

And truly, if we consider them in a serious light, they were in many respects dangerous to the state, and prejudicial to the church itself. They distressed the state

¹ Lord *Herbert*, p. 440. *Fuller's eccles. hist.* b. 6. p. 329.

by their immense possessions, and by robbing it of such numbers of ~~defensible~~ men. Every state should guard against perpetuities; in the fewer hands property is, there is the greater danger of despotism and slavery¹. They were also a hindrance to the free execution of justice; for being mostly exempt from civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, offenders found in them a refuge and sanctuary from shame and punishment. They were detrimental to the church, by their great number of appropriations; by their exemption from tythes; and by, what is still severely felt, the shameful pittance they allowed the parish-priest for the service of the church; for when *Henry* seized their estates, he reserved the same allowance for the service of the church, which the monks themselves, out of their boundless generosity, and great conscience, had thought sufficient for the maintenance of the parish-priest.

The antiquarian may be indulged in lamenting the demolition of these ancient + monuments of ~~their~~ ancestors superstitious and mistaken devotion; the zealot may rail against the sacrilege of perverting things plausibly dedicated to religious purposes. But what, if they were founded at first in

¹ See letter X of a series of sensible letters published, in the *Publick Ledger*, under the name of *Candidus*. X
ignorance

X defensive

X his

X These Letters have been since republished, under
this Title, Remarks upon the History of the Life of
Reginald Pole, by Edward Stone, Clerk, A. M.
and late Fellow of Wadham College Oxford. 1766.

even utility

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to use the good man's own words



ignorance of the true spirit of religion? what if purgatory be a fable, and masses for the dead of no avail? then the intent and ~~necessity~~ of their institution ceases; and the legislature has a right to interfere, and to inquire how far such donations are really disposed of for the service of God, the interest of religion, and the benefit or civil welfare of the public: if they are found prejudicial to all, it may be presumed, that God gives up his title and interest in them, and that the legislature is justifiable in resuming them¹. It were indeed greatly to be wished, that the wealth of these dissolved seminaries had gone into another and a better channel; and instead of being shared (however good the policy of it might be) amongst the leading men of the laity, *fat y^e time* had, as ~~they~~ ought, been appropriated to the service of the public; that holy *Latimer's* proposals had been attended to; and two or three of these foundations spared in every diocese, not to retain monkery, but *14* to maintain preaching, study with praying, and good house-keeping.²

Mr. *Dod*, sensible that some irregularities might have got ground in the mo-

¹ Bishop ~~Elm's~~ tracts, p^t 1. p. 226. *Candidus's* *Ellys* letter XI.

² *Latimer's* letter to *Cromwell*. *Strype* mem. v. 1. p. 259. Lord *Herbert*, p. 506. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 237.

nafteries, candidly owns, that the reforming of them would have been “ a very laudable undertaking, had either order, decency, or measure been observed in the execution. Frequent abuses had for many years been complained of, which seemed to plead in favour of such an attempt.”¹ How far true or false, the grievous accusations brought against the professed were, and what credit is to be given them, we may judge from the evidence delivered in history, which cannot well be denied. From the sinful state, horrible deeds, pious ~~tricks~~, and revelations, which were contrived, and committed in the monasteries, and are upon record, it could not but make the ~~places~~ infamous, and raise a general indignation against the authors of such polluted actions, and shameful forgeries.² “ We have the *prior of St. Andrew’s confession* amongst our rolls.³ we have an abstract of the *breviarium compertorium in monasteriis* a° 1538, which, if we do not more largely insist upon, ’tis our *good manners* that will not suffer us to talk of those sins, which

¹ Church history, p. 100.

² *Strype’s Mem.* v. 1. p. 251, &c. *Carte*, v. 3. p. 143. *Lord Herbert*, p. 495. *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 242. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 316, &c.

1st frauds and pretended

2nd the whole Monkish Profession

3rd Weaver's funeral monuments p 106

Fuller, B. 6. p 320



■ their *religion* did not hinder them from
■ acting.”¹

From the natural depravity of mankind, it is impossible to imagine, in so great a multitude of people, as the several orders of the *professed* amounted to, but, that many of them were not restrained, either by their religion, or their vows, from committing notorious and scandalous enormities: and there is great reason to think, that the commissioners, though, perhaps, they might in some cases aggravate matters, were yet tolerably impartial, from the testimony they gave of the order, decency, and religion observed in some of the monasteries and nunneries.²

The visitors appointed, were different persons for different counties and dioceses: but we are told by Mr. P, that the King's *vicar Cromwell appointed Dr. Lee, a person of the utmost profligacy, chief visitor both of the manners and property of such places.* He differs here a little from his good friend *Sanders*, from whom he took this character of Dr. *Legh*; for *that true and faithful historian* says, the King himself appointed *Legh*.³ But they are both mistaken;

¹ *Atterbury's* answer to the Considerations of the spirit of *Martin Luther*, p. 21.

² *Strype's* Mem. v. 1. p. 254, &c. and 268. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 155, &c. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 316.

³ *De schism. Anglic.* p. 136.

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^ this

for *Legh* was not the chief; or the most active; the others were invested with equal powers; ~~for~~ he might have learned from *Collier*,¹ or rather from *Dod*,² who copies *Collier*, and to whom our industrious and laborious author is obliged for all his authorities and information concerning the dissolution of these religious houses, both the lesser and the greater ones: they would tell him, that this visitation was suggested to *Cromwell* by *Layton*,³ who recommended *Legh*;³ and if *he was a person of the utmost profligacy*, he was a fit person to be employed in the ~~dirty~~ work of detecting the guilt of others. *Dr. London*, warden of *New Coll. Oxon*, and dean of *Wallingford*, who was one of the visitors, we freely own to have been really *a person of the utmost profligacy*. He did open penance in *Oxford*, for incontinency: ⁴ and ~~when~~ this visitation was over, he could not rest, but was convicted of perjury, in being concerned in a conspiracy against some of the King's servants, as supposed favourers of the reformation.⁵

¹ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 104.

² *Church hist.* p. 101.

³ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 104.

⁴ *Strype's Mem.* v. 1. p. 377. ⁴ *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 241.

⁵ *Burnet*, v. 1. p. 327. *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 314. †

1 this

155. and Dean of York.

12 infamous

13 soon after

14 376.9

† Strype's Life of Cranmer p 122. See also other instances of his base mischievous disposition, p 109 —
— 118 of the same Book.

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λ^2 at least

λ^3 1539



Had any of these commissioners set themselves up as patrons of the *new doctrines*, (as Mr. P. terms them) there might have been greater room for clamour against them, as if they were employed in an attempt that would end in the *total subversion of the* ^{P. 167. / 190} *ancient worship*; but it doth not appear that any of them had the least ~~tendency~~ ^{to} that way: and how much soever they were instrumental, in exposing the immoralities of the monasteries, they persevered, and many of their families still continue, in their *ancient faith*. If they wantonly abused their power, that be to themselves; they were good *catholics*; and they were but poorly rewarded for all their trouble: ~~and~~ I know of no advantage, any of them reaped, by opening the stores of such plunder, if *Layton* be excepted, who, in ~~1537~~ ¹⁵³⁷ was made dean of *York*, and died not many years after.

The people, Mr. P. informs us, were ^{P. 166. / 189} *spectators of these innovations*,—and the *King's real motives, in these proceedings, were but too visible*. What the King's *real motives* were, at this interval of time, we cannot determine: we know, however, he might have good and substantial reasons for so doing. We sincerely pity, with our tender-hearted biographer, the hard fate

1 ~~Harmer's errors in Burnet, p. 57~~ Br. Willis's
Survey of the Cathedral of York,
p. 69. See Neve's Fasti p. 315.

of those who were turned adrift by this visitation: but here we differ; our compassion is confined to the personal distresses of the suffering parties; for we do not at all lament the demolition of such nurseries of ~~vice, of idleness, and of superstition.~~

P. 165. /
188. Such a reform could not be made, but some individuals must greatly suffer. Mr. P, who loveth much to enlarge, tells us, that the younger monks, that is, those *under the age of 24, were compelled to leave their monasteries; the rest were left at their own discretion, either to stay or depart; but those who remained were mured up, and not permitted to go out of their houses.* John Stowe, from whom this intelligence was had, does say something, that at first view looks like it. For he says, that “ when the younger monks, and those who would go, were put forth, the visitors, after closed up the residue that would remain.” This sounded like a greater hardship than what either *Dod* or *Collier* say; and therefore was put down to exaggerate the persecutions of the monks. The other historians content themselves with reporting, “ that those who had lived longer than 24 years, when they turned *religious*, might have the liberty either to quit their profession, or remove

1 *Stowe's Annals*, p. 572.

1st idleness, of Superstition, and of Vice:
& which though they might in some instances
be a support to the Poor, yet, as Mr Hume truly
observes, they "~~tended~~ ^{idleness} at the same time tended to
encourage, and beggary";

1 Tudors, v. 1. p 286

11 mured up



*12 a very long note in Mr Dod, consisting
of many passages collected together*

13 However

“ to a larger house ;” which was not quite so bad as being ~~immured~~. Nor do we wonder, at what lord *Herbert* (whom, by the by, Mr. *P.* did not consult upon this occasion) says, that many (especially they who got nothing thereby) were grieved to see the monks and the nuns wandering abroad.² Neither is the number of these unfortunate sufferers computed by him, but by *Fuller*, to amount to the number of 10,000 persons.³ The truth of the matter is, our sagacious writer found ~~a long, connected quotation in Mr. Dod,~~⁴ from *Collier*, *Fuller*, and *Herbert*; which he has turned to his own use, but unfortunately has not clearly distinguished his authorities, for want of a little necessary care to consult them himself. ~~But, however,~~ none of them pretend to say, that whilst the monks and the nuns *were wandering about*, and *starving, the commissioners rioted in the profit of these confiscations*. But as all the writers referred to by Mr. *P.* are silent upon this head, we should not accuse the visitors of more crimes than they committed: and all

¹ *Dod*, v. 1. p. 105. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 109.

² Lord *Herbert*, p. 441.

³ *Fuller*, b. 6. p. 311.

⁴ Church history, p. 104. citing *Collier*, v. 2. p. 155, and p. 180. *Fuller*, p. 312. and lord *Herbert*, p. 377.---the very same references as are made by Mr. *P.* p. 166.

that

that lord *Herbert* says, is to this purpose,
 * that the commissioners refused to re-
 * deem a piece of *St. Andrew's* finger, co-
 * vered with an ounce of silver, which was
 * pawned by one of the monasteries for 40
 * pounds." ¹ If the broker had more faith
 than the commissioners, he must have a
 good bargain, for such a trifle, to retain so
 precious a relic; which might work mi-
 racles for his benefit whilst alive; and, af-
 ter his death, prevent him from staying
 long in purgatory.

Thus did the famous *supplication of beg-
 gars*, ~~wrote~~ some years ² before this visita-
 tion was set on foot, or thought of, meet
 with greater encouragement, than *Sir Tho-
 mas More's supplication of the souls in pur-
 gatory*: what *these* might lose by the fall of
 the monasteries is hard to say; the living
 souls, however, had no reason to complain,
 for, by the act of dissolution, the same
 good hospitality, under great penalties, ³
 was to be kept up; and though the tenants
 had changed landlords, the lands were
 not gone, they continued as before: and
 whatsoever insurrections might be foment-
 ed, and supported by the ejected, and of

written

¹ P. 441.

² Mr. *Fox* supposes it to have been ~~wrote~~ in 1527.
 V. 2. p. 279.

³ ~~Fuller (Church hist. p. 312.) says,~~ the penalty was
 6l. 13s. 4d. a month.

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course, discontented monks, they soon came to nothing. The King being master of his parliament, was equally so of his kingdom: and those hasty and unsuccessful risings, which succeeded this dissolution of the monasteries, though all under the specious pretence of *religion and ancient usages*, did but serve the more effectually to extirpate the religious orders, root and branch; and hasten the visitation of the greater monasteries, whose members had remarkably distinguished themselves, by their zeal and activity in abetting these commotions.

The pleas that these several *insurgents* P. 168. / 191 urged, plainly shewed, that they were stirred up by the monks: the leader of the *Lincolnshire insurrection*, was Dr. Mackerel, prior of *Barlings*, and many years a suffragan bishop in the diocese of *Lincoln*; who, disguised as a mechanic, called himself captain *Cobler*. The next rebellion (for the former was soon quelled) discovered its intentions, under the quaint name of the *pilgrimage of grace*: a more regular and formidable body than the other; and who seemed to have had some leaders, well skilled in the proper application of those popular and plausible incentives, which can at any time irritate a mob, abuse of ~~the mi-~~
~~nistry~~, and the cry of religion and liberty. And why? because a few sturdy monks had been sent abroad into the world, to become
useful

were / useful members of the state. However, this great body, upon the assurance of pardon, ~~was~~ soon prevailed upon to lay down their arms.

The river *Dun* was so obstinately heretical, as by a ~~repeated~~ ^{repeated} inundation to be rendered impassable, and twice to disconcert the schemes of these pious persons, whose uneasiness at the apprehension of a total subversion of the ancient worship led them into overt acts of hostility, against their sovereign. Had the river continued fordable, or had an high wind chanced to have made it shallower than ordinary, how happily might our historian, who is so much given to judgments, have flourished upon the favour of heaven in so remarkably declaring for these injured insurgents? How effectually would this have obviated whatever may be objected to the lawfulness of the method of redress, by those who are inattentive to the provocation? Much better than the reasons he hath assigned. But alas! *these* tumults, and all the risings that succeeded, were soon stopped; and the rebels made nothing out, notwithstanding the motives on which they justified their proceedings. Henry's power and good fortune prevailed, though trusted to that general, who was the most powerful of all those who favoured the ancient religion, and who was thoroughly persuaded of her faith and worship.

Thus

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12 second

13 again



3rd It is Mr Hume, not Lord Herbert, who uses
this particular expression: but happening
to refer to Lord Herbert as his authority for a fact,
Mr P. who thought, no doubt, it would look like
taking more pains, to cite an earlier writer, boldly
appeals to his Lordship for a word which he never
used, but which occurs in Hume, who might full

Thus an end was put to these several commotions: and some of the rebel leaders, not keeping their terms with the King, met with the reward of their treason. "For, thinking the King dilatory, " general *Ask* and the rest of his adherents " fly again to arms, and endeavour to re- " kindle in the north, the fire that was " lately extinguished." Can *Henry* then be blamed, upon these repeated provocations, for using some severity, and making an example of some, to prevent future revolts? However, when the principal managers of these disturbances were executed, "the King," says lord *Herbert*, "by letter to the duke of *Norfolk*, said, he " would close this tragedy, for he sent now " a general pardon; which was received " with great joy, many being terrified " with the duke's proceedings." ² *To which* P. 171. / 195 *act of grace*, though lord *Herbert* does not say it, *he adhered.* ³

After this doleful account, which our biographer has given, of the lamentable state of monks and monkery in *England*, and the ineffectual struggles of those *in-* P. 173. / 197 *surgents*, who had taken up arms *in favour of the ancient doctrine*, which was plainly

¹ *Dod*, church hist. v. i. p. 106.

² Lord *Herbert*, p. 492. (not p. 248, where we are referred by Mr. P.) *

siast.

intended to prepare us for what follows; the hero of the work before us is again introduced, but in a character, which we cannot help thinking will place him in a most offensive light. We shall find him busily employed in doing the ~~dirty~~ work of a spiritual incendiary; and exerting every effort of sanctified malice, ~~in abetting~~ rebellions, and ~~exciting~~ the principal powers of *Europe* to interfere in the management of affairs in *England*. The event shewed the folly of the Pope, and *Pole's* vanity and ignorance of the world, to imagine that the

199) P. 175. *several potentates*, to whom he was sent with
 1 P. 173. *the quality of legate*, would listen to the ~~re-~~
 197 ~~ligious complaints of a fanatical enthusiast.~~

They could not but detest the presumption of that emissary, who went, from court to court, to solicit assistance against his King and his country: they received him with that scorn and contempt which his behaviour deserved; and would not condescend to admit to any familiar conversation, or even into their presence, the active instrument of so shameful and unnatural a commission.

The flourishing pen of our panegyric historian may gloss over the infamy of this commission: but let the impartial reader hear and determine, whether *Pole's* behaviour in this spiritual embassy, even from *Quirini's*, and Mr. P's own representation of

J. Castle, v. 3. p. 145

as well have been referred to, as the other.

1st detestable

1² to abett

1³ to excite

1⁴ canting harangues of a disgusted, perfidious Enthusiast.



of it, can entitle him to any gentler appellation, than that of being a rebel, and a traitor to his country. His own letters furnish us with sufficient proofs of this charge, which did not so clearly appear before. We learn from them, that he was sent into *Flanders* by the Pope, at the very time when the rebels were in arms in the north, to encourage and assist them;^{x2} and to spirit up the Emperor and the King of *France*, to war against his own sovereign, to whom, by his own confession, he had the highest obligations. *His credentials* (as P. 175. / 199 they are termed) *from the Pope*, were calculated to justify the last, and to raise future rebellions in *England*.

The holy father of the christian church, in these credentials, has given a specimen of the usual manner in which himself, and his pious predecessors, exerted their *universal superintendence over the church*. His address, not to *the English nation* in general, as Mr. P. tells us, but only to the catholic bishops and noblemen, was, to encourage their rebellion, and to express his joyful hopes of their success. His letters

¹ *Paulus III. ad episcopos Anglos, ac proceres catholicos illius regni, &c. --- Angliæ populi nuper pœnitentiam factò, & suam voluntatem pariter ostenderunt armis pro sancta religione, & veteri ejus observantia sumptis, quorum nos, sicut aberratione dolueramus, ita reversione maxime lætati.*

Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXVII. inter Monum. Prælim.

Q to

x² *Quir. v. 2. Ep: Poli Paulo 111*
P P. p. 51.

to the kings of *Scotland*,¹ and *France*,² and to *Mary* governess of the *Low Countries*,³ were written with the same holy design; earnestly to solicit them, for the love of God, religion, and the church, to assist those zealous people of *England*, who chose to obey God rather than man; and

1 *Idem Regi Scotiæ.* — *Nos : . a te cum præsentibus omni studio, & amore per Jesum Dominum petimus, ut nobis, & Romanæ ecclesiæ in pietate dictorum populorum (sc. Angliæ) fovenda ac retinenda auxilio esse, Deique causam juvare tu in primis velis, cui occasio id faciendi propinquior & commodior.* ---- And when he sent him the baubles of a sword and cap of maintenance, blessed the night after *Christmas* day -- he told him that at this time, it was a proper present, because -- *vicini tibi regis impietas divina ultione concutitur* --- and that he had kept himself free from the imputation of heresy. And the typical signification of each present is thus set off, (p. 176) *ut Deus tibi dextram ense firmet, caputque tuum hoc pileo vi spiritus sancti per columbam figurati protegat ad tutelam sanctæ ecclesiæ, & catholicæ fidei, adversus eos, in quos Dei justitia, atque judicium nunc præparantur.*

Ibid. p. CCLXVII. & p. CCLXIX.

2 *Idem Regi Christianissimo.* — *Cum mitteremus . . . legatum nostrum -- ad confirmandam illorum Angliæ populorum pietatem. qui in veræ, & catholicæ fidei cultu manere cupiunt, proptereaque juvandi a nobis, & omnibus bonis sunt.* ---- he goes on, and entreats and exhorts him, *ut te, & favorabilem ad juvandos veræ religionis zelatores, (i. e. the rebels) & placabilem ad consilia pacis præbere velis, a qua hoc tempore cætera bona dependent.* And he tells both these princes, *hæc plenius & particularius idem legatus sit explicaturus.*

Ibid. p. CCLXX.

3 *Idem Reginae Mariæ gubernatrici Flandriæ.* — *Reliqua esse debent posita in vestra opera, executione, atque auxilio.*

Ibid. p. CCLXXII.

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that the legate would explain these matters more fully and particularly. But the language of *Pole's* instructions, or his *memo-* P. 176./201
rial, is much plainer; and discovers, that this devout missionary was sent upon the old errand, of supporting religion, by abetting civil dissensions; for ~~with~~ other suggestions, calculated to promote the interest of the papal faction, was this christian proposal, that, in case the King should ~~not~~ / 2
~~keep~~ his word with them, *some proper per-* P. 177./202
son should be appointed to keep up their (the rebels) *resolution, and a sufficient fund allowed for that purpose.*

Such were the extraordinary practices of the Pope, such the infamous commission which *Pole* undertook; both of them hereby intending to display their *zeal for re-* P. 173./197
uniting so fair a portion to the catholic church. The principles on which his ho- P. 178./202
linefs proceeded, were drawn (says Mr. P.) *from that universal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the church, and gave him* A RIGHT TO USE SUCH MEANS *as are proper to effect it: SUCH, we are to take it for granted, from the instance before us, as exciting rebellions, stirring up wars, and any such means, however violent or wicked, to remedy those evils, in which* (as was P. 183./200

I Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXXIV. inter Monum. pralim.

pretended) *the King had involved himself and the whole kingdom.* But as the Pope, and his zealous agent, were thus open in their attempts against *Henry* and his kingdom, could they expect that a king of his spirit would tamely suffer them to proceed, without making them feel the weight of his power, and exposing the absurdity of their schemes? His subject, his relation, his friend, had publicly cast off his allegiance and duty to an indulgent sovereign; and was engaged in such open acts of mean hostility, as no state and government could possibly connive at. He therefore wilfully drew the storm upon himself; and by thus daring *Henry's* resentment, had no reason to complain of the King's behaviour; which needeth no other defence or apology, for driving the traitorous emigrant from place to place, than his own account of the nature and motives of his religious embassy.

Mr. *P.*, conscious of the objections that may justly be made to this part of his hero's conduct, has endeavoured to palliate his entering on *a kind of offensive state with his sovereign*: ---- by laying before the reader, *the legate's manner of reasoning on it.* The legate is indeed much obliged to the kindness of his biographer, for the pains he hath taken to make him speak so learnedly in his first book on the church's unity, *where,*

P. 178.

202

His Pensioner

(what he calls)



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I well

I would persuade Us he doth,

I³ them

† Mr P memory is not a little treacherous upon this occasion, the work on the Church's Unity was begun in ~~1535~~ the beginning of the Year 1535, according to Quirini v. 2. p. 306. It was sent to Henry in 1536 soon after he received the news of Anne Bullen's Execution, before he could suspect an Outlawry - In fact He was not attainted before the Year 1539 or 1540. When his family felt the effects of his treasonable attempts.

where, with all his art, he would find it no easy matter to produce that *manner of reasoning*, he has ascribed to it; for most of the facts hinted at, in our author's extract from it, were *posterior* to the writing of that work, and therefore could not be mentioned in it: nay so far is the legate from complaining of being *outlawed*, as Mr. P.

~~say~~ that he tells the King, in another part of this very work, that nothing but an irresistible impulse compelled him to reproach him, for that though the King, "at this very time was persecuting others of the same sentiments with himself, he was yet encouraging his studies." But,

however, as they were the sentiments of Pole, and what (afterwards) in his letters P. 179. / 204 and other works, he alleges as the motives of his conduct, we will let ~~it~~ pass with observing, that Pole, like all other rebels, justified his treasonable practices, by accusing the King of violating the original contract. P. 178. / 202

But how the Pope's supremacy is any part of this *original contract*, or was included in the *rights and immunities of the church*, secured by the *grand charter*, is a point which still remains to be proved. The

I Qui hoc ipso tempore, quo alios, qui eandem quam ego sententiam defendunt, acerrime insectatur, mea studia benignitate sua fovet.

†

De Unit. L. 4. p. 84.

Q 3

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the grand charter does indeed enact, that *the church of England* should be free; but not a word is there mentioned of the Pope, or his power; and his *supremacy* was ever deemed a *yoke of slavery*, both on the people and *the church of England*. ~~And moreover the Pope looked upon this charter as so detrimental to his interest, that he~~ condemned, and published a *bull* against it; and, out of the plenitude of his power, absolved the weak King, who had signed this, and the other charter of the forest, from the oath he had taken to observe them¹.

Mr. *P.*, to add greater weight to the representation he hath made of *Pole's* embassy, is pleased to tell his reader, that the cardinal gave an account of his behaviour,
P. 179. / *through the whole negotiation, first to car-*
204 / *dinal Pio,—and afterwards to Edward VI.*
P. 180. / *These documents, he adds, were made public*
204 / *when the affair was recent; and from not*
being contradicted, we are to suppose them to be true. But here unfortunately our biographer differs from *Quirini*,² who says that none of the documents, relating to this embassy, were made public, except *Pole's* letters of credence from the Pope to the so-

¹ *Echard's hist. of England*, v. 1. p. 254. *Rapin*, v. 1. p. 277.

² *Quirini*, v. 2. *Præfatio*, p. 31, & p. CCLXVII, &c. *inter Monum. Prelim.*

At the
12 add to this, the Grand Charter was ever
looked upon as detrimental to the Papal
Interest, and such an infringement of the
rights of the pretended Vicars of Christ:
that his Holiness Innocent the 3^d, of quarrelsome
memory, who then sat in St Peter's Chair

but not till



tho' our Historian is very positive
in maintaining the contrary, this is
very clear, that

ver reigns above-mentioned, and to the cardinal of *Liege*, and a letter to *Pole* himself, and another to the King of the *Romans* from his holiness; which were some years after inserted in *Raynaldus's* annals. And with regard to the letter to *Edward VI.* Mr. *P.* himself, in another place, tells us, that it was first made public by professor *Schelhorn*, in 1737: and, besides, he doubteth whether ever it reached the prince, to whom it was addressed. Is he sure it was ever sent him? however, as none of the documents were made public, when the affair was recent, neither the ministers of *Henry*, nor of *Edward*, could possibly have detected and exposed misrepresentations, or impostures of any kind. We will venture ~~to say~~ to say, the former would have rejoiced, had any of these precious documents, preserved by *Quirini*, and referred to by Mr. *P.*, fallen into their hands: they would undoubtedly, for their own sake, have made them public; and attempted no other vindication of their proceedings against the seditious and treasonable writer of them.

I will not deny (says the legate, with his artless freedom, as it is called, to *Edward VI.*) but that, if offices of persuasion and friendship were to no effect, I then advised them, (i. e. the powerful princes he was sent to) to employ threats, and to break off all intercourse and communication with *Henry*.

Q 4

And

P. 184.

209

And yet we are required to believe, *with how little justice he has been accused of hatred to his prince, and making use of all arts to distress him.* If so, what may we not believe? A little cant and dissimulation will sanctify any outrageous action: and the villain, who stabs his friend, may be said to do it, out of mere love and kindness. *Quirini* does indeed condescend to say, that *Pole* said, and did all this, not out of *hatred* to his prince, but out of *duty* to the Pope, as his *legate*, and as representing his person. As this is the best apology, which the friends of *Pole* can make for his conduct, they are welcome to ~~make~~ ~~the most of it~~ they can, and to try how far it will mitigate the ~~crime~~ of such high offences.

P. 184,

185.

210

To enhance the personal merit of *Pole's* character, we are next told of a letter, ~~written to him~~ on the part of both houses of parliament; and that . . . each of the members of this illustrious body put ~~their~~ name to

I Quicunque Polus in iis legationibus adversus Henricum molitus fuerit, pro injuncto sibi a Paulo pontifice legati munere, fideliter molitum fuisse, ac proinde ex ea causa non Vatiniani odii culpam, sed integræ & sacræ fidei laudem promeruisse. Non erat prorsus, cur odii illius invidia in eum caderet, qui in iis legationibus non propriam, sed Principis sui personam representabat.

Quirini, v. 2. Ep. alt. Schelhornii cum animad. p. XIV.

it.

1st represent it in the fairest light

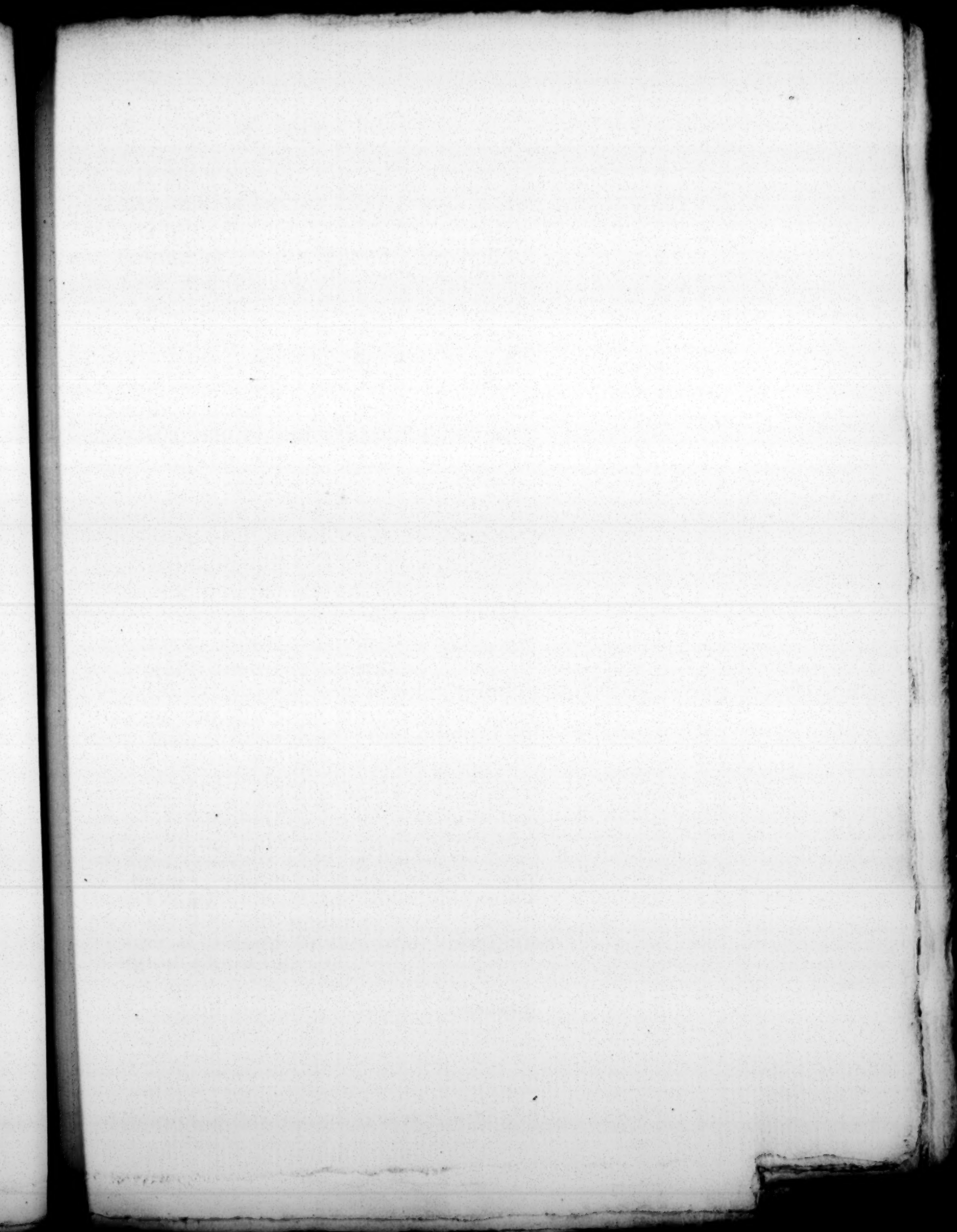
1² guilt

1³ he received

1⁴ his

1





it. If this was really the case, greater attention was shewed to *Pole*, than he deserved; and his ingratitude and obstinacy, in proceeding on his legation, so contrary to their request, is the more apparent. That such a letter might be subscribed by some of the members of both houses, and sent to *Pole*, is probable enough: we will not call his veracity in question, since he so solemnly appeals to it; but then it was done as a *private*, not a *parliamentary* act; for so singular and uncommon a mark of respect, and coming from *the whole body*, could not have escaped the notice of our historians; who are totally silent about it. The private friends of *Pole*, in each house, might endeavour to reclaim him by such an instance of their regard; and his own vanity might induce him to reckon it, *the public act of the whole parliament*.

1 *Collier, Burnet, Strype, Fuller, Godwin, Hume, Stow, Herbert, Carte, Rapin, Echard, Wood and Baker*, do none of them say a word of any such public letter. *Beccatelli, Dudithius, Gratiani, and Sanders* are silent about it. Neither does Mr. *Dod*, in the long account of *Pole* inserted (p. 472, &c.) in his church-history, take any notice of it, though, besides other authorities, he refers to a MS. of *Pinning*, the cardinal's secretary, reserved in *Doway* college. — The Journals of the house of lords, which begin in the first year of *Henry VIII.* mention no such act: those of the house of commons do not extend farther than the reign of *Edward VI.* *back*

Nothing

Nothing, however, could stop our religious adventurer. But alas! in the entrance almost of his journey, an *unexpected* turn of affairs happened, which seemed to disconcert all his measures with respect to England. The incident, here hinted at, was the defeat of the insurgents, whose cause he was so solicitous to serve, and on whose success, every thing depended. But these were only the forerunners of still more mortifying events. The King of France, and the Emperour, would not admit him to their presence; and excluded him from their dominions.

After this repeated disappointment, our zealous legate retreated in disgrace and chagrin, and for some time took up his lodgings at *Cambray*; from whence he wrote that dispatch to the Pope, which Mr. P, with his usual embellishment, tells us his holiness admired as a model on which public persons might form their manner of writing; that is, he recommended it to his grandson, cardinal *Farnese*, for his imitation. This was enough to set *Quirini* on: he,

I Pontifex summopere laudavit epistolam tuam, quam confestim legendam misit, cardinali Farnesio, nepoti suo, ut sibi exemplum habeat, ad cuius instar possit animum, & bonis literis colere, & eximiis etiam virtutibus ac praesertim christianae pietati inherere.

Contareni, ep. Polo. Quirini, v. 2. p. 70.

good



3. In this Retreat, We are told he was not shelter'd from Henry's secret Intrigues; & amongst many other Charges of the like Nature, Mr P. asserts that if King had set a Reward of 15,000 Crowns upon his head. This may well be called in Question; In the Sentence & Act of Attainder pass'd against him, nothing of this sort appears; neither doth y^e Cardinal himself ever hint at in his expostulatory Letter to Cromwell above referred to.

good man, goes much farther; and does not scruple to maintain, *that Pole wrote this dispatch, especially the latter part of it, under the immediate influence of the Holy Ghost.*¹ Such is Quirini's nauseous incense! Whilst our ecclesiastical embassador was at this place, had our biographer vouchsafed to have consulted our historians, he would have found that some of them have preserved a memorable letter which Pole wrote from thence to Cromwell, complaining of the King's behaviour, and his own attainder²; but as if every thing he could do was right, wholly omitting the gross and unpardonable provocations he had given his sovereign. ~~But saints never are, or own themselves, in fault.~~

From hence, our unsuccessful legate went to Liege;³ where, *though all the functions of the minister were locked up,* — the man never appeared in a more amiable and instructive light. The virtues of his domestic life must not be passed by unnoticed; our biographer therefore obliges us, from Quirini, with a relation of his daily employment, which was such, he says, *that the pomp and ostentation of that court, which persecuted him,* P. 203./231 P. 205./234

¹ — *Ipsa scribenti Polo spiritus sanctus, cujus proinde habitaculum foret illius pectus, dictasse consendus est.* e/

Quirini, v. 2. Diatriba, p. LXXII.

² Strype's Memorials, v. 1. p. 301, and App. p. 218. Burnet, v. 3. p. 129. Records, p. 469. Collier, v.

2. p. 137. Carte, v. 3. p. 145 was

P. 205. *it.* was effaced by the shades and by-paths of his retirements. This account, of the manner of Pole's spending his time, giveth the impartial Mr. P, by the help of his master, an opportunity of aspersing the memory of Luther and his reforming companions at Smalcald, by producing the authority of so unexceptionable a voucher, as John Cochley.

P. 206. *it.* But here, we except against the testimony of this voucher: we look upon him in the same light, as we do upon Nicholas Sanders; ² as little better than a common liar, caring little what he said, so he could but fasten some *odium* upon ~~the~~ heretics. Our author, to support the testimony of Cochley, and to vouch for his character, has summoned the very respectable Thuanus as speaking well of him; but here, according to his usual fairness, he has wilfully omitted a very material part of his evidence, where he speaks of him as *vehement in controversy*.³ Agreeably to this description, we are informed by another writer of that communion, " that Cochley was the person " that entered the lists oftenest against the " Lutherans. — Were it not for that reason " he would not be so much as known: " and all that we know of his life is, that for

¹ Quirini, v. 2. Diat. p. cv, & p. cvi.

² See p. 4. and p. 171.

³ *Præterea acer in disputando.* Thuan. l. 11. A. D. 1552.

reputed



* Nay even y^e sweet-tempered Melanchton could
 not conceal y^e Contempt he had of Cocheley & his Works,
 "Mittit Lutherus, (says he in a Letter addressed to
 "his great Friend Camerarius) bellissimum Cochele
scriptum, ut sunt illius omnia plena Attici leporis.
Vult abjici & deleri omnes Versiones recentes, ac praecipue
Lutheranam, vult omitti Linguarum Studia, ut
omnibus omnium Monachorum Somnis Populus
applaudat. Et hunc Scriptorem antistes
denegantes quosdam non compescit fustibus?
Me cum istos furores lego, minus paritet

" the space of 30 years, — viz. from 1521
 " to 1550, his fruitful pen produced every
 " year more than one treatise against
 " them. — In his treatises of controversy,"
 he adds, " there is a great mixture of po-
 " liticks and personal matters. He some-
 " times makes use of hard words and
 " bitter invectives against *Luther* and the
 " other hereticks. — He was a rigid de-
 " fender of the doctrines and customs of
 " the church, a declared enemy to all ac-
 " commodations, by which any thing of
 " the rigour was to be remitted." ¹ This
 is the character of Mr. P's *unexceptionable*
voucher. *Luther*, though he was ever
 provoked by him, yet despised him so
 much, that he would not condescend to
 reply to so teizing and insignificant an ad-
 versary, having found by experience that
 no reasoning could convince him. ²

Acrimonious reflections naturally fall
 from the pens of such prostitute and bi-
 gotted writers: but how basely false and
 scandalous they are in the article before us,
 will appear at first view, when we consider
 what *Luther and his reforming companions*
at Smalcald, were really doing. They met

¹ Dupin, *eccles. hist.* 16 cent. part 1, p. 456, 466.

² Cochleio, non est ut respondeatur, cum aliis simus oc-
 cupati melioribus, & ejusmodi libri per se pereant, quotidie
 multi. *Lutheri ep.* v. 2. p. 183, cited by Seckendorf,
 B. I. p. 315. —†—

(we

(we are told by those who knew more of the matter, than Mr. P, or his *voucher*) clergy and princes, to consult what answer should be given to the Pope, who had summoned a council to be held at *Mantua*; when the articles called, from the place, the *Smalcaldic* articles, were agreed to, signed, and published, which contained their opinions of all those important points, which were at that time the subject of controversy. They had also conferences with the Emperor's embassador, upon the state of affairs in *Germany*. " And moreover
 " that all men might understand the reasonableness of their proceedings, and the
 " grounds upon which they refused the
 " council, they thought it convenient to
 " set them down in writing, which paper
 " they afterwards published in print."

P. 205. / *than the shades and by-paths of the legate's*
 234 / *retirements: or his evening-walks on the*
banks of the Maese. And though it was beyond *Cockley's* abilities to refute what those reforming divines published, he found it easy to calumniate; and has passed in effect the same sentence upon them, which

I *Sleidan*, B. II. p. 226, &c. *Seckendorf*, B. 3. p. 150---157. *Burnet*, v. 3. p. 113---116 *Records*, p. 443---456.

the

nostrarum operarum & laborum, ^{spero} ~~spes~~ etiam
exitus placidos. Quid enim sunt haec scripta Cochleae
& similium aliud, quam, ut est in illa Imagine
bestia vomentis ranas, Bateaux ou guevoi.

Melanchtonis Ep: L. 4. Ep. 359. P. 823.

To give the Reader, some Specimen of Cochley's
theological abilities, I will present him with his dis-
cussion of a very controverted article. In one of the
private Conferences at Angsbourg, at the time the
famous Angustan Confession was laid before the
Emperor; Eccius alleged Gen: Ch: 48. v 16. as a clear
Proof of Invocation of Saints. Brentius, on the other
side, denied it, affirming no Proof of such a
[(in our Writer's own ^{incomprehensible} style)] Doctrine could
be produced
from the L. S. Cochley granted it plumb, giving
this shrewd & acute Reason for it. Ideo (said this
deep Divine) in Veteri Testamento nihil inveni
de Invocatione Sanctorum, quia tunc Sancti
non dum in Caelo, sed in Limbo Patrum fuerint.

Leck: L. 2. ~~scd~~ p 179.



¶ To the same purpose We learn the following

Particulars from Brevius c. Anno Chr 1520

Erardus Marcanus Leodiensis Episcopus

habitis Comitibus, Legem promulgavit de Hære-

ticis juxta dictum Cesaris non ita pridem

Leodii & vicinis Locis publicatum coercendis:

Capitulo deinde Leodensi, Consilio Civitatis

& sabinis scripsit, simulq; mandavit, ut decreta

sua quantoocius, exequerentur, & N. Sacerdo-

tem advenam Gallum, ob sparsa nuper Dogmata

comprehensum, brachio seculari traditum

vel proscriberent, si resipisceret; vel per-

the apostles, their predecessors, met with from the mockers of their days, these *men are full of new wine*; and with equal truth. Mr. P, because he found it in *Quirini*, hath adopted this wicked calumny; and must answer for it, as the retailer of party violence and defamation.

The cardinal of *Liege's* civilities to our spiritual rambler, gave occasion to our biographer, to trace out, what he calls, *a* P. 209. / 230

short sketch of that prince's character: to elucidate which, as being a little exaggerated, we also will beg leave to add an anecdote or two, *related by a cotemporary* P. 206. / 234

author, who had every opportunity of being informed of it; and who is, upon all occasions, allowed by Thuanus, to be an unexceptionable voucher. From *Sleidan*, we learn, "that none was more severe against the reformers than this cardinal." The

very sumptuous memorial of himself, which P. 210. / 239
he erected some years before his death, served equally to display his magnificence and his folly; which were rendered still more conspicuous, "by his having those funeral
"dirges and ceremonies, which the Pa-
"pists use for the dead, performed anni-
"versarily for him; imagining that those
"services of the priests, which they ac-
"count meritorious, and believe eternal

1 *Quirini*, v. 2. Diat. p. cv, & cvi.

" life

• life is due to them, would do him most
 • good when he was alive. But those
 • who pretended to know the man more
 • intimately, said he did all this, out of a
 • spirit of vanity, because his ambitious
 • humour was pleased with the solemnity
 • of the office.”¹ A greater instance of a
 vain-glorious and empty mind need not be
 desired.

We shall conclude this section, by ex-
 pressing our admiration, that *Pole*, who is
 so ready, upon all occasions, to appeal to
 the judgments of providence, and so pre-
 sumptuously to apply them to himself,
 should acknowledge none of these interpo-
 sitions, when he perceived his spiritual pe-
 regrinations, though undertaken, as he fre-
 quently expressed himself, for the cause of
 Christ, were² rendered so unsuccessful;
 and that his return to *Rome*, the capital of
 the Christian world, and the centre of reli-
 gion, was attended with such shame and
 confusion.

P. 145.

164

¹ Sleidan, B. 12. p. 240.

² Legatus vicarii Christi, Christi causa. Poli ep. Ro-
 dulphe Pio, cardinali Carpenfi. Quirini, v. 2. ep. p. 35.
 Mea legatio Christi causa suscepta. Ep. Poli Camillo Ur-
 sino. Ibid. p. 128, &c. &c.

-linacem flammis traderent, quod non multo
post, non procul a Scholarium Monasterio ad
ripam Mosae factum fuit.," S. 38. — Eadem
crudelitate saevire perrexit, An. Chr. 1534. Iste
codem, S. 91. ?" Cited in Hottinger's Ecclesiastical
History, Saeculi XVI. part. V. Tom. IX. Cap. 2. p. 335.



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ANIMADVERSIONS

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SECTION THE FOURTH.

PO L E's legantine commiffion having been rendered fruitless, and the several infurrections in *England* being quelled; *which, as it always happens when fuch at-* ^{Pt. 2^d. p.} *tempts fail of fuccefs, only strengthened that* 33, 34. / *v 2. p, 73* *government, they were defigned to overthrow:* Henry, having now no apprehenfions of difturbance from any quarter, found himfelf at leifure to purfue fome further regulations, which the difconcerted fchemes of his enemies enabled him to profecute without interruption. Several of the monaftic profeflion having been too hafty and imprudent in encouraging the late tumults, and the rebels having demanded the reftoration of the ejected of that order, as one of the principal grievances to be redreffed; the monks had reafon to fear, that exasperated and triumphant power would call them to account for their ill-timed zeal.

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The King's power and influence was visible, in those monasteries which were already dissolved: and the late behaviour of the professed had given him the fairest opportunity to eradicate the remainder. His experience had convinced him, that so long as any of that order were left, he should find them as troublesome to him, as they had been to any of his predecessors; and that they could not well be looked upon in any other light, than "as a body of reserve for the Pope, and always ready to appear in his quarrels, and support his claims."

The entire extirpation of the religious houses being determined, the King proceeded in the same method in the suppression of those which were left, as he had done with those which were dissolved before, *viz.* by a visitation of them, and by parliamentary authority. This occasions, what is not to be marvelled at at all, a fresh discharge of our author's bitterness against *Henry*. The interest of the *Romish* church was hurt: ~~and~~ its adherents may be allowed to murmur. But here, we cannot help wishing, that Mr. P. had been honest at the same time, and not taken to himself the honour of the reflections he makes upon this subject. In his account of the dis-

*that they maintained principles
incompatible with the obedience they
owed to the Laws of their Country;*

therefore



town
that Commissioners

solution of the lesser monasteries, he had been greatly obliged to Mr. *Dod*, the popish church historian, without making him any acknowledgment: in the present narration of the fall of the greater ones, he is still more obliged to him; but with the same paltry disingenuity, he industriously concealeth the kind collector of his materials: and though *every one* of his references are plainly taken from Mr. *Dod*, yet is he never named.¹ Thus does our author, with his usual art and freedom, assume to himself the credit of another person's labours. Neither of them however have much to boast of, in the article before us; for *Collier*, in his ecclesiastical history, had prepared every thing for them: it was but copying, and referring to him;

¹ So implicitly does our author rely upon Mr. *Dod*, that he even copies his blunders; and to prove, that the King's passions ran so strong for a dissolution, that he could scarce endure the report of a fair character given to the religious, (p. 213) he refers us to *Giffard's*, one of the commissioners, letter to *Cromwell*, without saying where that letter is to be met with. It is true, Mr. *Dod*, by the manner in which he hath cited these words, (p. 108) might lead him into this mistake: but if Mr. *P.* had consulted *Collier* himself, he would have found, that these are, not *Giffard's* words, but *Collier's* reflections upon the unsuccessful application in behalf of the priory of *Woolstrop*.

Eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 156. See

also *Styke's Mem.* v. 1. p. 255.
R₂ and

and then their impartiality could not be questioned.

P. 219/
250 But *Henry's* accumulated guilt, in this dissolution of monkery, must be clear and allowed; for we are told, that *had the monks been heard in their own cause, they could not have pleaded it with greater energy than protestant ~~monks~~ have done it for them, on the evidence of facts, and from a principle which will do honour to their writings, whilst equity and the lingering spirit of religion has yet applause in Britain.* As if religion had really suffered, by the extirpation of such sort of houses. Let us see then, what these *fair reasoners* have to plead in their behalf; and, whether their authorities are *fairly* produced.

Mr. *P.*, and the defenders of the monasteries, have urged many arguments, from the excellency or piety of the state itself, from the numbers of the professed, and their revenues; which, however specious they might formerly appear, have, by length of time, lost all their weight; and may rather be deemed unanswerable objections against them. The riches of a state are the number and increase of its subjects. Now our writer, speaking of the number of those who were *dispossessed* out of the greater monasteries only, computes them to amount to *some hundred thousand*

P. 218.
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thousand persons. Mr. *Dod* indeed is more moderate: he only says, "so many thousands." And this being exclusive of the secular and parochial clergy: when they are reckoned, with those belonging to the other *establishments or lesser tenements of the like import*, the number of those prohibited from matrimony must amount to an amazing body of people; who were so far from contributing to the support of the government, "that the kingdom itself from this redundancy of its defenceless members, might be so exhausted of its strength, as to be incapable of protecting or securing itself from insurrections or invasions." Tho' this is only a political inconvenience: yet if considered, even in a religious light, the very nature of these institutions will be found as much unnecessary to the promotion of true piety, as they were detrimental to the good of society.

It is easy to harangue upon the benefits of a retired, contemplative life, free from the cares, and detached from the love, of the world. But surely the man, who, in active and social life, lets *his light shine before men*; displays the beauty and perfection of religion to nobler purposes, than when it is confined in the heart of a soli-

¹ *Dod*, church hist. v. 1. p. 110.

² *Candidus*, letter IX.

tary devotee: and the good husband, parent, master, and magistrate, is of more real benefit to the world by this exertion of his faculties; and is doing his duty to God, ^{with} ~~to~~ greater advantage to others, ^{with} ~~to~~ greater comfort to himself, and ~~to~~ greater honour to religion, than if he had hid his talent in the cloisters of a monastery, or the cave of an hermit. Such a man, by communicating his goodness, does ~~more~~ service to the cause of religion, than if a recluse piety had kept him employed in counting his beads, tormenting his body, and submitting to those absurd, ridiculous, and uncommanded observances, which belong not to religion. The freeing therefore such numbers from this constrained, formal, outward devotion, and obliging them to become useful and active members of society; and the demolishing such nurseries of idleness and spiritual servitude (however it might be accompanied, as before, with too many acts of personal rapine and injustice) were yet, in their consequences, beneficial to religion and the state; and may well be justified, upon the soundest principles of each.

The revenues which, by the piety or rather superstition of our ancestors, had been bestowed upon these communities, are urged, to enhance the guilt of their dissolution. We are told, that they were
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1st the nature or essence of

as it frequently did ~~of~~ appropriations →

consecrations made to the Supreme Being, of P. 218. / 249
a real and perpetual nature, and were, as it were, vested in him. But perhaps it may be difficult to prove, that such foundations were any otherwise consecrated to religion, than alms-houses and hospitals may be said to be. If the institution of the monastic state did not advance the end of religion, its endowments could scarce be said to be consecrated to God. In some instances, we think, the monks themselves were supported by continued acts of rapine and sacrilege, when the income of the monastery consisted ~~of impropriations~~; and the parochial clergy were by that means robbed of a maintenance, apparently more consecrated to God, and *vested in him*, than the advocates for the monks can pretend to allege in favour of their possessions. Surely, had the spiritual life been kept up by the spiritual state, those good souls would not have enriched themselves at the expence of the church; and, out of their boundless generosity and piety, have starved the parish priest, by the scandalous pittance allotted for the service of the cure. ✓ t.

But the monks need not be envied: *their* P. 214. / 244
possessions, it is said, did not exceed one twentieth part of the national revenue; a sum much below what a design to destroy them, first gave out, and credulity has still retained. And were they really as low, as they are

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put

St. Kennett's case of Impropriations,
Sect. 17. p. 56

put here, the legislature might have sufficient reasons to extirpate such obstructions to religion, and such nuisances to society. But the fact is not true: the estates, belonging to these religious houses, were considerably larger, than the credulous Mr. P. is aware of. *Collier* himself owns, "that the revenues of the abbies were sometimes undervalued by the visitors and therefore," says he, "in all likelihood, upon rack rents and modern computation, the lands would rise to near twenty times as much." And Mr. *Stevens*, in his history of taxes, who seems to have considered this point with great accuracy, (whose calculation is supposed to be drawn from the last leases these houses granted) has demonstrated, that they possessed a much greater proportion to the national revenue, than Mr. P. thinks of. "Their reserved rents were indeed but low, but the fines, which are here dropped, and in another place called *easy*, made up nine parts in ten of their incomes, and bore no inconsiderable share in their annual profits; the lands only of two of the abbies are worth at this time 500,000 *l.* a year; and if these estates were worth, at the time of their dissolution, but a fourth part of what

1 *Collier*, v. 2. p. 165.

they

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P. 222.
254

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x^i in order
all future

- they are at present, yet the yearly value
- of only these two, would not fall much
- short of what our author makes the in-
- come of the whole 700 amount to."

But be this as it may be: their revenues, more or less, do not affect either the crime of their destroyers, or the merit of such houses. Their whole institution was founded in fanaticism; and was encouraged to the hurt of the state, by not only preventing amazing numbers of both sexes from contributing (in a lawful and honourable way) to the increase of the community, but also by being a continual supply of factious, restless, and devoted zealots to the foreign power and influence of the bishops of Rome; whom they looked upon, in our writer's language, as the *interpreters of* P. 218. / 249
God's will, and the delegates of his power.

We are informed, that an *act of parlia-* P. 217. / 247
ment was framed, to remove scruples, and settle rapine and sacrilege, as lord Herbert terms them, on the King and his heirs for

I *Candidus*, letter X, citing *Stevens's* history of taxes. Some compute, the lands taken from the monasteries, at twenty years purchase, would amount at this present time, to thirty millions, five hundred and three thousand, four hundred pounds. Those formerly belonging to the abbey of *St. Albans*, being worth at this day about 200,000 pounds a year, and those that belonged to *Glastonbury* abbey above 300,000 pounds yearly. *Vid. Rapin*, v. 1. p. 823, note, from *Stevens's* history of taxes, p. 188---216.

ever.

ever. But where does his lordship say this? *Dod,*¹ and *Collier,*² did not authorise Mr. P. to speak so peremptorily. They cite him honestly, as declaring only, "that some called it rapine and sacrilege, which," says he, "I will no way excuse." But what does he say farther? Let him speak for himself, and answer this objection of rapine and sacrilege. "Though I may say truly, that notwithstanding so many religious houses were destroyed, there are yet in every kind, (the suppressed ones excepted) left standing so many, as give no little increase to learning, splendor to religion, and testimony of charity to the poor. So that altho' I cannot but pity the ruin of them, as affording a singular conveniency to an holy, pious, and contemplative life, *when abuses were taken away*, yet We are not destitute of many monuments of devotion: of which also our King had such regard . . . for he not only augmented the number of colleges and professors in his universities, but erected . . . out of the revenues gotten hereby, divers new bishoprics Besides many of the cathedral churches, formerly possessed by monks only, were now supplied with canons, and new ones

¹ Church history, v. 1. p. 114. Note.

² Eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 165.

" enacted

very

* enacted and endowed So that re-
 * ligion seemed not so much to suffer here-
 * by, *as some of the clergy, of those times and*
 * *ours would have it believed:* our kingdom
 * having, . . . instead of divers supernume-
 * rary and idle persons, maintained by ab-
 * bies and chantries, men fit for employ-
 * ment; so that the desolations . . . are by
 * our politicks thought amply recom-
 * pensed." So far is this noble historian
 from calling this dissolution, *rapine and sa-*
crilege, that he thinketh favourably of it;
 and that the very institution of those reli-
 gious houses was abundantly compensated
 by others, of an infinitely more beneficial
 nature to church and state.

But *those fair reasoners, the protestant* P. 219. / 250
writers, have pleaded so honourably for
 these institutions, that it seems, *the monks*
could not have done it with greater energy.
 The monks would have done it but poorly
 then; and destroyed, by one argument,
 what they supported by another. And how
 have they defended them? They have con-
 sidered these houses as a provision for the
 younger children of great families, and as
 places for the education of youth of both
 sexes. Now had there been, after this
 dissolution, no possible way of providing ^{ib} ~~P. 219.~~
for such younger children, and securing the

1 Herbert, p. 508.

perpetuity of the family estate, but by depriving them of the comforts of social life, and forcing them into a monastery; the parliament would not have come so easily into Henry's scheme. But they might wisely consider, that their younger children were likely to do much better in the world, when a turn was given them for business and action; and that the army, the court, and the law, might give them opportunities of raising a fortune, which might in time perhaps equal, if not exceed that, which belonged to the elder branch of the family. And if they were disposed to retire from the world, there was the church still ready to receive them: and the power and influence of their friends might procure them good preferments, and an establishment for life suited to the rank their family held.

ib.
~~P. 249.~~

The abbies, it is also urged in their favour, were public schools for education: but this was foreign to their institution, and therefore should not be named amongst the necessary advantages of them. But how little of useful knowledge could be acquired in these kinds of schools, we learn from the most unexceptionable authority, from the testimony of Erasmus, that best judge of literary merit and improvement: from him we are informed, that, not the learned languages, but the quibbles of scholastic divinity, were solely cultivated by the monastic

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monastic preceptors.¹ However, to remedy any inconvenience or complaint, that might arise from this quarter, there were a great number of free-schools founded in many places of the kingdom, within the compass of a few years, both by royal and private benefactors. And the nation reaped inconceivable advantage from that manly and spirited turn, which a freer intercourse in public life afforded the youth of it; and from that store of real and polite literature cultivated, not by the monks, but by the penetrating genius of those superiour minds, whose amazing abilities, and extensive erudition (engaged in the improvement of every branch of true science and philosophy) opened those treasures, which the monks were utterly ignorant of; and, for fear of being counted heretics, dared not even attempt to attain unto. It was this liberal and enlarged way of thinking, which so insensibly promoted the reformation, and exposed the former plan of education.

¹ *In his (sc. monasteriis) adolescentes, vix trimestri studio grammaticæ dato, protinus rapiuntur, ad sophisticen, dialecticen, suppositiones, ampliaciones, restrictiones, expositiones, resolutiones ad gryphos, & quæstionum labyrinthos, hinc recta in adyta theologiæ. Tales, ubi ventum est ad eos autores qui utriusque linguæ facundia præcelluerunt, Deum immortalem! ut cæcutiunt, ut delirant, ut sibi videntur in alio prorsus esse mundo.*

Eras. dial. de pronunciatione, p. 770. v. I. ed. Basil.

The

P. 220./ 251 The service the monasteries were of in
 P. 222./ 253 promoting a general literary improvement,
 in preserving records, and being the repositories of learning, is another plea in their behalf. This is saying but little for them: the houses might be receptacles of learning, whilst the inhabitants neglected it, or understood nothing of the value of what their repositories contained. Erasmus, who knew them well, has told a tale, which should make the advocates of the monks blush, when they presume to talk, in this manner, of their promoting a general literary improvement. It would be strange indeed, if, amongst such numbers, many did not make good use of the advantages of retirement and books. But did learning sink with the dissolution of the abbies? and have not succeeding times produced those, and in much greater numbers, who have done honour to themselves and their country by their writings, though not brought up in a cloister?

So fatal, however, was the fall of these houses to literature, that we are further

Latitant in collegiis ac monasteriis Germanorum, Gallorum, & Anglorum, pervetusti codices; quos, exceptis paucis, adeo non communicant ultro, ut rogati vel celent, vel pernegent, vel iniquo pretio vendunt, usum decuplo aestimatorum codicum: tandem pulchre servatos, vel caries tineæque corrumpunt, vel fures auferunt.

Eras. ep. edit. 1542, p. 355. cited in Knight's life of Colet, p. 25.

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told, from the Oxford historian, that, *where-* p. 220. / 251
*as there were, in those times, near 300 halls and private schools in Oxford, besides the colleges, there were not above eight remaining towards the middle of the last century. But Wood does not mean, there were so many remaining at the dissolution of the monasteries; for long before that time, they had been lost and swallowed up in colleges, many of which were built upon the very site of these halls. And what these were, he tells us in another part of the same book, that they were neither more nor less, than lodging-houses hired by the students.*¹ Brian Twyne, an abler man, and a better antiquarian, than Mr. Wood, says the same thing: he reduces them to 200; and enumerates about 180 of them, describing where they were situated, and in what colleges they were absorbed.² For when the latter were built and increased, the scholars had no occasion to lodge in townsmen's houses: though it is true, that the ruin of the monasteries did greatly lessen

¹ *Atque hæc (sc. aulæ) sane . . . uti & prisca quævis nostra musarum habitacula, tenementa primitus oppidanorum erant, pretio annuo academicis elocata. Wood hist. & antiq. Oxon. L. 2. p. 338.*

² *Aulæ, revera ades erant burgensium certo pretio conductæ. Antiq. acad. Oxon. Apologia. L. 3. p. 381*

~~De antiquis aulis & studentium collegiis.~~ — And the Appendix ~~throughout.~~

(*De antiquis aulis & studentium Collegiis*) throughout. the

~~P. 1032~~
 16 the number of students, and obliged many to *apply their time and industry, to what would be more to their advantage*, and the benefit of the state. The universities had been then, for a long time, upon the same footing they have continued ever since: and it does not appear, that any one secular college or hall (many of the latter being little better than grammar schools) shared any part of that ruin, which befel the religious houses. "So far was the King," says Collier, "from lessening those famous seminaries of piety and learning, that he rather promoted their interests."

P. xx./
 XXX Mr. P. takes occasion to trace out (what he calls in his table of contents) *the state of learning* from this period to the reign of Charles the second. It is difficult to say, what could occasion the digression of this paragraph. Certain it is, the promoters of the reformation, in our kingdom, were, for the most part, persons of astonishing erudition: their knowledge indeed lay more in the original language of the SS, in the earliest writers of the church, and in cultivating the powers of reason and philosophy, than in St. Thomas, and the decretals. Many of them also distinguished themselves in a politer way, the knowledge

1 Collier, eccles. hist. v. 2. p. 209. See
 also Wood Hist. & Antiq. Univ. Oxon. of
 Lib. 1. p 263. a B 1543.

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of the classics and belles-lettres; and their writings are ~~as pure as any~~ of the Augustan age: whilst not a few of their opponents, disdaining these advantages, rested satisfied with the jargon of scholastic divinity, and the glosses of their modern doctors. But never, surely, was so unfortunate and improper an ~~epithet~~, as *quaint conceits*, applied before, ~~for~~ the general character or criterion of learning in Queen Elizabeth's days: that *epoch* (to borrow a favourite word from our author) was marked, in a very conspicuous manner, by a long list of heroes, in every sense of the word, whose deep learning, solid sense, manly genius, and the exertion of every active faculty, raised the glory and reputation of the kingdom to an height unknown before; whilst *quaint conceits*, and puns, distinguished the *pedant reign* of the succeeding prince.

After this little ~~spurt~~ of criticism, the cause of the monks is again taken in hand; and we are confidently told, that, while the religious houses subsisted, there were no provisions made by parliament to relieve the poor, no assessment on the parish for that purpose; but, at present, this charge on the kingdom, amounts, by a low computation, to above 800,000 pounds. If it did so in Collier's time, who is the original author of all this intelligence, it must rise to a much greater amount now. But what

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P. 221. / ~~256~~ 252

P. 221. / ~~16~~

P. 223. / 254

if this be a vague and false assertion? There is great reason to suspect, that these houses were not so munificent. We have before observed, that one motive alleged, at the dissolution of the alien priories, was, *that the poor might be better maintained*; and there were, moreover, several particular *acts of parliament* passed for the relief of the poor, at different times, ' to oblige these very houses to aid the poor in proportion to their income: from whence it is easy and natural to conjecture, that they were not so liberal and bountiful of their alms, as Mr. P. and his informants, would persuade us. So that, as *Candidus* well and truly observes, " the nation neither got
 • nor lost any thing, in this respect, by
 • the suppression of the monasteries, only
 • the mendicant trade was reduced, industry encouraged, the poor better provided for, and the nation more equally
 • taxed." ²

P. 223,
 224.
 255

On these considerations, proceedeth our author, *one of our historians asserts, that it would be but an act of common justice, to give the generality of protestants a more favourable opinion of monasteries.* Upon what considerations? the hospitality and charity

¹ Viz. 15 Richard the 2^d. 4 Henry the 4th. 39 Henry the 6th, and two or three in Henry the 7th's reign, mentioned by *Candidus*, letter XII.

² Letter XII.

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of these houses; for that he is speaking of, in this paragraph, and hath referred us, to prove this, to a place in *Fuller*,¹ where he is lamenting the plunder and the waste made of their books; which our author backeth by a corroborating evidence, as he thinketh, from bishop *Tanner's* preface to his *Notitia Monastica*, wherein his chief purport is to shew, that monasteries were the repositories of learning; neither of them, in the places appealed to, touching upon the charity of these houses: nor did Mr. *Dod* cite them for that purpose: but Mr. *P's* accurate eye caught them in the same page, and he was determined they should vouch as he wanted them.

~~In one respect, it was prudent he did not consult~~ *Tanner* himself; he would hardly have quoted him with such eagerness: for though it was to be expected from one who was writing the account of religious houses, to say, with other antiquarians, every thing he could honestly in their favour, yet he owns, "that these institutions were abused from their original foundation, and that he did not in the least intend to vindicate the superstitions and the vices of the monks:" and then addeth, immediately after the passage produced by our author, this reflection; "and

¹ *Fuller*, eccles. hist. b. 6. p. 335.

indeed considering the provisions that are made in the universities, for the encouragement and attainment of learning; and the many hospitals, that have been built since the reformation, for the relief of the poor, there is less reason to lament their loss." ¹ This is *Tanner's* testimony.

P. 224. But now our writer takes a bolder flight:
255 and national and personal *calamities* are exhibited, *as so many indications of a provoked and avenging God*. What the national calamities were *which trod on the heels of this iniquity*, we are at a loss to know; for Mr. P. will hardly reckon the cruel tyranny of *Queen Mary's* reign as any misfortune to the kingdom. *Fuller*, the authority appealed to, says nothing like it; he says "some conceive—yea papists would persuade us, that such possessions are unsuccessful, and will ruin their proprietors, ~~if~~ restored to their proper owners: for mine own part," says he, — "I wish to all lawfully possessed of them, that ~~they~~ ~~may~~ peaceably and prosperously enjoy them, *et nati natorum, et qui nascuntur ab illis.*" ² As to *Spelman's* observation, it is unfair to confine the judgments of God to one county, when the whole

¹ Preface to the *Notitia Monastica*, p. 3. 1st ed. 8vo.

² *Fuller*, church hist. b. 6. p. 370.

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kingdom was equally involved in the same guilt. Did these estates alone subject their purchasers to the divine displeasure, and no others go from one family to another, there would be more probability in the conjecture. The curses of the *Romish* church, for this pretended sacrilege, took no effect: some of the abbey lands continue to this day in the same families, who purchased, or obtained them at the first; and those, who have been later proprietors of them have been no more sufferers than their former owners.

The day, also, which gave commencement P. 224. / 256 to this crime was thought ominous. How so? why, it seems, some weak and superstitious persons, 100 years after, wanted a parliament summoned to meet, in Charles the Ist's time, upon the 3d of November, to be adjourned for a short time, it being the P. 224. ib same day on which the legislature, in Henry the VIIIth's reign, began the dissolution of religious houses. There is no accounting for the whims of some people; but whoever gave this reason for the adjournment of the long parliament, sufficiently shewed their folly, and their ignorance too; for the parliament, which *began the dissolution of religious houses*, met in the month of

1 This piece of intelligence, *Echard* (whose authority is here produced for it) learnt from *Heylin's* life of archbishop *Laud*, p. 458. Ed. 1668.

*February.*¹ Two years indeed before that, there was a parliament, which began on that *ominous day, the 3d. of November*; wherein the Pope's authority was abrogated, and the supremacy of the crown established.² And from this day, says Mr. P. *the church of England dates her misfortunes.* The church was, we grant, afflicted during *the madness of the civil wars, and the fanaticism of the commonwealth*; but when order and law were restored, she likewise got over her misfortunes, and recovered her just rights: and her sons can now reflect, with pleasure, upon the 3d. of November, on which day they were rescued from an intolerable spiritual bondage. They deem it as auspicious to them, as the 5th of the same month; and both, as equally *ominous* to the church of *Rome*.

Add to all this, the avenging *anger of heaven*, which was exercised in the many attainders and executions which followed this fall of the monasteries. If this be the method or rule of construing God's judgments, what must we think of the house of *Pole* itself, and many others of the same principles, who opposed this dissolution, and yet fell by the hands of the executioner? "So that our author here gives a fair op-

¹ *Stowe's annals*, p. 572.

² *Ibid.* p. 571.

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* opportunity of retaliating judgments upon
 * them for this opposition:"¹ and the proof
 will be equally striking. This it is, when
 zealots take upon them to account for the
 dispensations of providence: the supersti-
 tious, and the credulous, may give way to
 such weaknesses; but others will reject,
 with horror and disdain, such profane,
 wanton and arbitrary interpretations of the
 divine interposition.

Thus much concerning the dissolution of
 these great excrescencies in church and
 state, the vast number of religious houses.
 There had been examples of this kind be-
 fore,² and of such revenues being applied
 to other uses: which must lessen the odium
 of their present suppression. If history is
 to be credited, the chief of the reformers
 (excepting *Cromwell*) were against it; tried
 what they could to prevent its being ge-
 neral, or at least to convert the revenues to
 a less exceptionable mode of charity, and to
 make them real and national benefits.
Anne Bullen's interest was sinking, and
 could avail little. "She, we are told, was
 * altogether averse to this suppression, and
 * put *Hugh Latimer* upon preaching a-
 * gainst it before the King. She likewise

¹ *Candidus*, letter XXII.

² Many instances of this occur in *Tanner's Notitia Monastica*, and in the *Monasticon Hibernicum*.

cautioned others of the clergy not to declaim against the monasteries, and preach down the institution.”¹ And after her decease, what signified the remonstrances that *Cranmer*, and the other bishops of his party, made against it.² It was the popish party, which carried this point; and the guilt of these actions, instead of being laid to the charge of the men of the *new religion*, as it was falsely called, should fall upon those of the *Romish persuasion*, who were the more immediate instruments of this dissolution. The commissioners, except perhaps one or two, were all good catholics; and continued still, as well as their sovereign, members of the *Romish church*, except in the article of the Pope’s supremacy. Thus were these houses demolished by a popish King, and popish commissioners; and a popish parliament, with popish bishops consenting, gave a legal sanction to their proceedings.

But no devastations are more bemoaned by our author, than the monastery of *St. Austin*, and the shrine of *St. Thomas Becket* at *Canterbury*; the former shared (faith *Somner*) the common fate of the other religious houses; “ whose uncovered walls

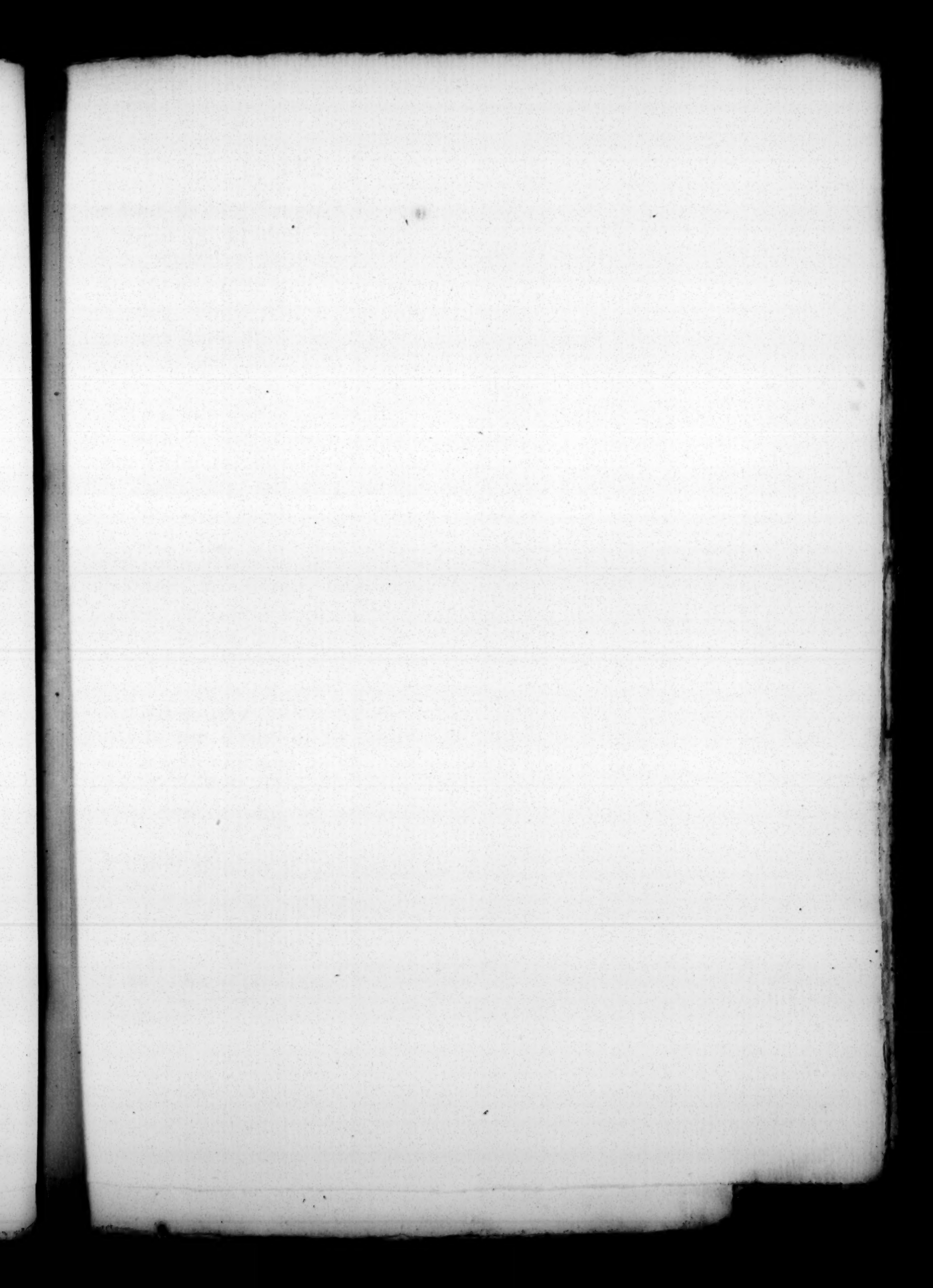
¹ *Collier*, v. 2. p. 117.

² ~~X~~ 2. p. 164. citing *Strype’s life of Cranmer*, p. 72.

“ stood

1 The Antiquarian and Inhabitant of that
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stood so long languishing in time, and storms of weather, that daily increased the aspect of her ruins." ¹ Unluckily, this does not tally well with that smart observation, which Mr. P. has pilfered from his own hero, that *the inclosure was laid waste, and appropriated to wild beasts; and a palace raised out of the ruins, for something still more savage, himself.* ² Now, not to mention, that Pole was often imposed upon in his intelligence of *English* affairs; his biographer, however, as the cardinal was not often given to pleasantry, should not have deprived him of his claim to a small joke, especially as it was more witty than true; for Somner, who wrote the antiquities of *Canterbury*, omits these particulars; though some pages ³ are employed in describing the ruins and remains of this abbey, "which are now," says he, "made subject to other public uses."

As to the shrine of St. *Austin*, it had been so long obscured by the greater splendour of *Becket's*, that its virtues, and its riches, were nothing in comparison of the

¹ Somner's antiquities of *Canterbury*, p. 60. 1st. ed. 4to. 1640.

² — Sibi, & feris domicilium esse voluit, sic enim iusserat vivarium illic fieri, & sibi ex ruinis monasterii palatium edificari. *Poli apologia ad Cæsarem. Sect. xxiv. Quirini, v. I. p. 109.*

³ *Antiq. Cant.* p. 60—63.

other.

other. The superstition and the prodigality of the pilgrims centered there, which engrossed not only all their folly, but all their christianity too; and the church wherein it was, though dedicated to Christ, was forced, through the deplorable bigotry of the devotees, to give place to the name of St. *Thomas*; whose altar was loaded with offerings, whilst that of Christ was empty, ~~and had nothing given it.~~ So much had ignorance and credulity excluded every degree of true spiritual piety!

P. 227./
259 The unshrining and unsainting *Thomas Becket* is aggravated as a most inhuman and unpardonable offence, in *Henry*. I wonder much, the superstition of our writer did not make the loss of *the island of Rhodes*, which, he says, *happened about the same time*, owing to this sin; for he seems, by ~~what he says~~, not to know well when the *Turks* took that place. Could he think of no nearer event, than this, to contrast with *Henry's* rapine and impiety, which happened no less than 16 years before it? Or would *Pole's nostra ætate, paucis ante annis,*² justify him in rendering it, *about the same time*, when there was an interval of so many years between them? The

¹ *ib*

¹ P. 248.

² *Poli apologia ad Cæsarem*, Sect. 23.

Quirini, v. I. p. 104. & v. 2. p. CLIII.

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only because in his Will he commended his
soul to God, through the merits of Christ, &
made no mention of, or application to, the
feigned Intercession of Saints.

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See his Will in Tyndal's works, p 429. &
Box v. 2. p, 317.

cardinal, in the vehemence of his zeal, asks, where *Henry* could have learnt this practice of behaving thus to saints departed? and answers himself, by saying, from that cruel tyrant *Herod*, who is supposed to have burnt *John the Baptist's* bones in the same manner as *Henry* did *Becket's*. But this is not clear. ~~And the~~ pious *Pole* needed not to have gone quite so far back: for *Henry* learnt it from the clergy of his own church; from the council of *Albium*, (*Albiense*) who ordered dead heretics to be so served; and from the council of *Constance*, who put that canon in execution, in their condemnation of *Wicliff*; and, lower still, from the chancellor of *Worcester*, who, by order of his superiors, had taken up and burnt the dead body of *Mr. Tracy*, ~~not~~ above 5 or 6 years before saint *Becket's* ashes were disturbed: ~~But~~ notwithstanding *Pole* rages, in his apology to the Emperor, and elsewhere, against *Henry's* impiety and inhumanity; yet he strangely altered his sentiments, when he came into power himself; and chose to follow *Henry's* example, rather than that of the *Turks*: for (as we shall see hereafter) he exercised, without fear or shame, the very same barbarous insults upon the bodies of some departed worthies, who, we think, were better saints than *Becket*.

The character of this prelate is here exhibited as an illustrious *saint, martyr, and* P. 227. / 259 *patriot*:

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patriot : and his life and actions shew that he merited these characters alike. He was a saint from the womb ; and ushered into the world as other saints usually are, with signs and wonders. *Fitz-Stephens*, one of the earliest writers of his life, tells us, that God revealed to his mother the greatness he had predestinated him to, who dreamed in her pregnancy, that she contained a whole cathedral within her womb : and when he was born, the midwife declared, she had lifted up an archbishop from the ground. And again, whilst he lay in the cradle, his mother dreamt she told the nurse, he had no quilt or coverlid ; the nurse insisted upon it he had, but it was so large she could not open it, either in the bed-chamber, the hall, or the street ; in short, it was of such a size, she could not find the end of it, but it seemed to cover more than all *England*.¹ These were omens of his future station and sanctity, which could not be gainfayed.

The occasion of the quarrel between *Becket* and his sovereign, *Henry II.* is well known. There were indeed some smaller ruptures which happened before the great breach, and had already inflamed them against each other. The King wanted to make the clergy amenable to the same laws

¹ *Fitz-Stephens's* life of *Becket*, p. 10. published among *Sparke's Historiæ Anglicanæ scriptores varii*, fol. 1723.

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for capital offences, as the laity; the archbishop insisted upon their privilege of being tried in their own courts, and in case of conviction to be degraded, and deprived of their benefices; and then, upon a relapse, (but not before) or fresh breach of the laws, to be tried before the civil magistrate.¹ By this means great enormities had been committed by those, whom the laws could not reach: and the King was informed, that above an hundred of his subjects had been lately murdered by these lawless clerks;² and was offended to find, they had been too favourably dealt with in their own courts.

Fitz-Stephens owns, the two following actions set the King and the archbishop at variance. A clergyman, in the diocese of *Worcester*, had lain with a young woman, and killed her father. The King would have had the offender tried in his courts: the archbishop refused it; and, to prevent his being delivered to the King's officers, ordered his bishop to imprison him. Another clerk had stolen a silver chalice. Him likewise the King was desirous to have tried in the civil courts; but the archbishop degraded him in his; and, *ex abundanti*, to appease the King, burnt him with an hot iron.³ These were surely very in-

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 282.

² *Gul. Newbrig*, l. 2. c. 16.

³ *W. a Stephanide*, p. 33.

decent provocations, which thus stopped the exercise of impartial justice.

Not content with this, the archbishop went farther, and took every opportunity to irritate the King, and to push matters to the utmost extremity, saying and unsaying, sometimes promising to give the King satisfaction, then retracting it, till, by his perverse obstinacy, he had wearied every body out. His brother bishops, many of them, thoroughly detested his violent behaviour: and even the Pope endeavoured, or pretended to endeavour, but in vain, to soften his furious spirit, and conciliate matters.

P. 227/
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ing
How *Becket*, who carried himself with such effrontery to his King, could be called the *guardian of the liberties of his country*, in refusing to obey the laws of it, is what Mr. P. has forgot to prove, any more than that those exemptions, or *immunities* of the clergy from the civil power, *made no less a part of our constitution, than any others contained in the great charter*. We have already taken notice of the steady opposition ever made to papal encroachments, and of *Becket's* ~~the~~ the bishop of *Chichester*, for exalting that authority.² The King, after this, could not but be astonish-

¹ See the life and epistles of *Becket*, published by ~~Horibant~~, at *Brussels*, 2 vol. 4to. 1682.

² P. 116.

reprimanding
Leoben Chancellor of England, &



L¹ say and promise, in the word
of truth,
L² in good faith & without
deceit,

ed, to find that he had changed his principles with his posts. When *the constitutions* (as they are commonly called) of *Clarendon*, wherein the ancient rights and customs of the crown were to be acknowledged, "which had not yet been committed to writing, being known only by common practice, and usage immemorial, and it was thought proper to specify some of them, to prevent any future dispute upon the subject:"¹ the archbishop alone refused to sign them. And what made this the more provoking was, that, not long before, at *Woodstock*, he had promised the King (chiefly at the instance of the legate, whom the Pope, and the college of cardinals, had sent into *England* to order him to do it²) "faithfully and sincerely, without any prevarication, to observe them." Repenting, however, of this promise, when he came to *Clarendon*, he flew back: and it was with the utmost difficulty, that he was at last persuaded to ~~swear~~³ that he would observe the laws of the kingdom, and the customs, which the King said were used in his grandfather's time. But when they were drawn up in writing, he absolutely refused to put his seal to, or confirm them.³ And when one

¹ *Carte*, v. i. p. 585.

² *Hoveden*, p. 282. *inter scriptores post Bedam*, ed. Savil.

³ *Id. ibid.*

of the indented copies of the constitutions was delivered into his custody, he could not refrain from affronting the King in so gross a manner, that he never could recover his favour any more.¹

What great offence this haughty deportment must give the King and his council, it is easy to imagine. But he was defending the rights of the church, truly! as if that could be done no other way, but by protecting criminals from punishments adequate to their offence, and by trampling on the rights of the crown. Granting, however, that he might have some scruples against receiving *the constitutions of Clarendon*, as imagining, that the Pope's power, and the clergy's privilege, might be infringed by them; though these very exemptions, or privileges, were not inseparable from their order, but originally flowed from, and were granted to them by the crown: ² yet what shall we say to his behaviour the next year, when he was summoned before the King and council at *Northampton*, upon a merely civil account. His outrageous passions broke out there afresh: and he was not ashamed to plead the privilege of his order and dignity, to prevent the payment of his just debts.³ And

¹ *Id. ibid.*

² *Collier, eccl. hist. v. 1. p. 374.*

³ *Carte, v. 1. p. 590, and p. 606. W. de Steph. p. 43.*



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He turned his back upon his Judges, &
went out of y^e House, to y^e great Offence
of all who were present, who could not
help expressing a proper Resentment of
his indecent Behaviour - for
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to hinder any sentence being pronounced against him, he prohibited the bishops from being his judges; and, with every mark of insolence and vanity, presumed, in direct violation of the laws of the land, to appeal to the Pope in a civil cause. The parliament, resenting this contempt of the laws, declared him guilty of perjury and treason. His pride not permitting him to hear his sentence, the people, as he passed through the hall, sensible of the justice of it, hissed him, calling him traitor, and bad him stay and hear his sentence: ² reproaches ~~which~~ he retorted upon some persons of distinction, by calling them *liars, bastards, and scoundrels*. "This intemperate language," as *Carte* observes, "was not very suitable either to the character of an archbishop, the humility of a christian, or the patient temper and spirit of a confessor."

² these

The King plainly appears, in all his actions, to have desired the good of the state, and the equal distribution of justice. The archbishop, whose religion should have taught him to have seconded these good inclinations of his sovereign, was *the man alone* who hindered them from taking effect: and his resentments ever continuing strong, he wrote to the King, and to others, in his exile, *such letters*, as are lasting and clear evidences, not of his *piety* or *humility*, but of his *pride, insolence,*

1 *Hoveden*, p. 283.

2 *Carte*, v. i. p. 593, 594.

lence, and revenge : and he exerted these violent passions agreeably to the fury of his temper, in endeavouring to set the King of *France*, and his own King, at variance ; and in fomenting the petulant resentment of a schismatical antipope, like himself, by his own frowardness persecuted, and banished from home.

Afterwards, when through the wearied good-nature of *Henry*, a reconciliation was proposed and agreed to between him and *Becket*, the latter behaved, at the interview, with such haughtiness and insolence, as disgusted his own friends : and when the King, willing to forget and forgive all former feuds, “ freely extended his grace to the clergy who had followed the archbishop in his exile ;” the haughty prelate, instead of shewing, on his part, the same peaceable inclinations to the King’s adherents, refused to make any such promise. And when he returned into *England*, he came with a mind agitated with the most diabolical passions : and to shew his implacable resentment, and that he was determined to gratify his own furious vehemence, he brought over with him the Pope’s excommunication of some refractory bishops : ¹ ~~and~~ to display the inflexible severity of his disposition, he could find no better time or opportunity, than himself in person, and in his own cathedral, and upon *Christmas* day,

1 *Alex.* 3.

2 *Carte*, v. i. p. 625.

*not only
but, also,*

solemnly to excommunicate several persons for trivial offences.¹

These were indications that his malice, his pride, and his lust of power, were boundless; and that he would drive on as furiously as ever. But his murderers stopped his career; and, though good ought not to be brought about by evil, delivered their country, tho' by a most unjustifiable act, from the man who was the author of its troubles and dissensions. Thus did his turbulent, seditious, revengeful spirit, raise him up enemies of as bad a temper as his own; who carried their resentment to such outrageous and indefensible lengths, as to perpetrate his murder, in an horrid and barbarous manner. And tho' we join heartily with those, who detest the bloody deed; yet, we declare, we see nothing either in his life or death, to deserve the title of saint. We look upon him as a man, driven on, in all his actions, by the impetuosity of his passions, to the most offensive and scandalous excesses; and that he died, not in defence of Christ, or his religion, but from an obstinate stiffness to screen offenders from the laws of the land, which he called, pleading for the laws of God, that is to say, for the tyranny of ecclesiastics, and the usurpations of the Pope. He was therefore not a martyr for Christ, but for the Pope's power.

¹ *W. a Steph.* p. 80. *Hoveden*, p. 298. *Carte*, v. 1. p. 630.

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And accordingly, some of his most zealous advocates, as if conscious of the weakness of his pretensions to it, contend for his sainthood upon this account. Thus *Stapleton* says frankly enough, " that it is no more absurd for the Pope to declare him a martyr, who dies for asserting his authority, than if he had been killed for the christian faith." ¹ Nay so meritorious is this, that, a little after, he adds, " that the cause of this martyrdom was such, as to intitle a man to the name and character of a saint, even though attended with no preceding sanctity of life." ²

From the most dispassionate view of *Becket's* life and actions, we see little of the spiritual, but a great deal of the carnal man; and much more of the sinner, than the saint. We do not therefore envy the *Romish* church, the honour of having such kind of saints and martyrs; whose merit, to intitle them to those venerable appellations, consisted chiefly in the unrestrained exercise of such violent and unregenerate passions, as are equally a reproach to humanity, and the gospel. 3†

¹ *Neque enim certe magis absurdum est a Romano Pontifice martyrem pronunciari, qui pro autoritate Pontificia asserenda occubuit, quam qui pro fide christiana occisus fuerit.*

Tres Thomæ, p. 53. ed. 8vo. Coloniae, 1612.

² *Quamquam & martyrii causa talis est, ut si nulla vite sanctitas præcessisset, sola tamen ad sancti nomen ac rem adipiscendam sufficiat.*

Ibid. p. 54.

in any other respect,

† 3 If the Reader be desirous of having a more perfect Knowledge, & a fuller conviction, of the turbulent Disposition, the invincible obstinacy, & the unbridled violence of this arrogant, perverse, & passionate Prelate, & of his ungrateful, seditious, offensive deportment to his Friend, his Benefactor, & his Sovereign; We refer him to that capital Work, to Lord Lyttleton's most judicious, most accurate, & most compleat History of the Life of Henry the 2^d. vol 2 Book 3 throughout.

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As this holy saint was introduced into the world by visions and miracles; so was his *exit*, in like manner, distinguished by them. His approaching martyrdom was revealed to himself by a voice from heaven, not long before he returned from his banishment.¹ And as soon as he was dead, it was abundantly notified. A priest saw, in a dream, a bishop in his episcopal robes, in the body of the sun. A woman saw the moon fall from heaven, and cut in pieces by swords.² The very day his passion happened, it was revealed by the Holy Ghost to *Goodrick* the hermit, who lived 160 miles from *Canterbury*. And as soon as the monks had performed his obsequies, his wonder-working power commenced: for whilst his body lay upon the bier, he lifted up his right hand, and gave the blessing.³ This last circumstance the archbishop of *Sens* informed the Pope of; adding, moreover, that he had appeared unto many, assuring them, that he was not dead but alive, and had shewed them, not his wounds, but only the scars of wounds. He told his Holiness also, that a blind man, by anointing his eyes with the saint's warm blood, had received his sight; and that he had lighted himself the wax candles, which

¹ *Hoveden*, p. 297. See his own account of our Lady, in a vision informing him of this and other particulars, cited, from the lieger book of the abbey of *Whalley* in *Lancashire*, in *Weever's* funeral monuments, p. 200.

² *W. a Steph.* p. 90.

³ *Hoveden*, p. 299.

were round his dead body, when they had been put out.¹

But these were only the beginning of wonders. The several writers of his story seem to think, there was no better way to raise his fame, than by dwelling upon the marvelous; and have accordingly feigned such an heap of miracles, as are an insult ~~to~~^{at} religion, a shame to decency,² and an affront to common sense. We read of such reputed sanctity of his shrine at *Canterbury*, where his body was interred; of such immense offerings, and such superstitious profaneness exhibited at that place, as cannot but make us ashamed of our forefathers folly and credulity. Neither was this all. So great virtue and power could not be confined to one spot: and *Stapleton* has produced a rare list of special miracles, performed in a monastery of *St. Martin*, or *St. Just* in the grove, in *Artois*; where the monks had got the rochet he had on the very day of his martyrdom, and part of his hair-shirt, both so sprinkled with his sacred blood, that no washing could get it out. They likewise had a piece of his dalmatic, his pluvial or cope, and his shirt.³ These rags or relics, we are told, greatly exceeded, in their wonder-working power,

¹ *Ibid.* p. 300.

² *Liber de miraculis B. Thomæ, authore monacho quodam Cantuar.* cited in *Fox's martyrs*, v. 1. p. 293. and in *Reflections on the devotions of the Roman church*, p. 227.

³ *Stapleton, tres Thomæ*, p. 108.

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those which remained with the body at *Canterbury*.¹

It would be trifling to mention vulgar miracles, such as, the curing all manner of sicknesses and diseases, making up of differences, and the raising of the dead. So constant a practice this of every faint, that the greatest wonder of all is, how any of their votaries ever happened to die. Such kinds of wonders every quack faint could operate: but those of the first magnitude must be more distinguished. He, whose cup of water, when tasted, was found rich and sweet wine²; he, to whom his mistress, the virgin *Mary*, gave a new garment, and mended his torn hair shirt; and he, whose fowl, upon a fasting-day, was turned into a carp³; must have amazing communications of supernatural influences imparted to him; and his sanctity *cannot be contested*: for he continued to work miracles with the same spirit with which he began. *Benedict*, the abbot of *Peterborough*, in about twenty years after *Becket's* death, filled five volumes with the history of them⁴. Such a martyr, and so much merit, could as easily work miracles abroad, as at home; for, as he

¹ *Id.* p. 110.

² *Hoveden*, p. 298.

³ *Gononi Chronicon SS. Deiparæ*, p. 177. *Ibid.* p. 176, and *Wickman's Sabbatismus Marianus*, p. 73, cited in *Reflections on the devotions of the Roman church*, p. 220, and p. 221.

⁴ *Rob. Swapham caenobii Burgenfis historia*, p. 99. in *Sparke's scriptores varii*, &c.

250 suffered more than any other apostle or martyr, so, it is said, his miracles exceeded those of any other saint'. To remove the prejudices of the reader *in these days of refinement*, (p. 226) we will present him, by way of specimen, with one *circumstantial* and incontestible proof out of many, *and related with such ingenuous plainness*, that it must gain *universal credit and approbation*. A miracle it is of a very extraordinary nature; and performed, not by the dead body at home, (for the *wonders*, wrought at the shrine at *Canterbury*, were so frequent, and so well attested, (p. 227) that my author was above producing proofs, of what could *not be contested*;) but at a distance, at the convent of *St. Martin's* in *Artois*, which had happily got the relics or rags above named, which partook of the efficacy of that heavenly power derived to them, from that body, which they once covered; and were attended with the same almighty charms.

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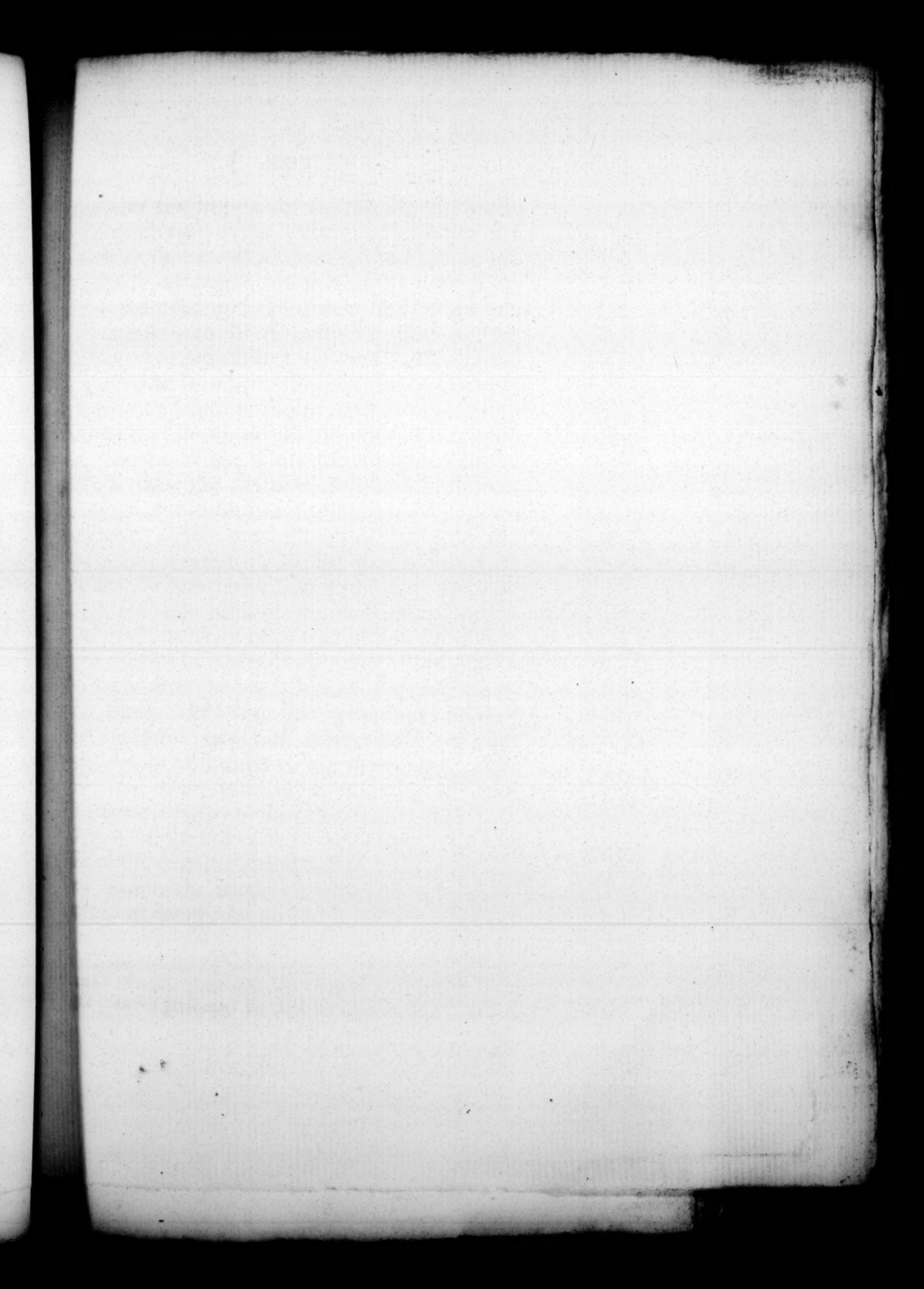
A certain noble lady, having miscarried of a dead and imperfect foetus, was so affected by it, that she cried to *St. Thomas*, not to suffer the soul of her poor abortive foetus to go *ad limbum inferorum*; and earnestly besought him, to put life into it. One of her favourite women servants, hearing this, took a wax statue of the same weight with the abortive lump, to the holy relics; and whilst

1 *W. a Steph. p. 91. Stapleton, tres Thomas, p. 53.*

confirm the authority of the greatest Scholar, it
Orator, & Divine of his age, & the declaration
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she was praying to them, offering the gifts, and reaching out the statue, immediately the abortive fœtus, which was in the arms of the midwife at home, received life; moved its lips, and eyes, and eyebrows: and, moreover, so perfect were all its members, that no defect or spot whatsoever appeared. The grateful mother sent her enlivened son to the convent to be baptised there; and intreated the abbot that he would be his godfather: who, in honour of the saint, named him *Thomas*. Upon this the mother made the convent magnificent presents; and, in memory of the miracle, called the chamber, her son was born and revived in, by the name of *the convent*. When the child was seven years of age, she sent him to the convent upon her very best horse, with a waxen horse and boy, the weight of them both; and presented the church with the waxen, and the live horse. In short, such was her gratitude, nothing would serve her, but that when she died, she would be buried in the monastery. And the son, many years after, when he had been a pilgrimage to the holy land, and had been knighted for his feats in war there, chose to have his remains deposited by his mother's, to honour the sanctified relics, to whose miraculous energy he owed his life¹. This is a

¹ *Stapleton, tres Thomæ*, p. 115. whose book, from p. 108 — 135, is filled with the relation and attestation of the miracles performed by these wonder-working relics.

sample of *Becket's* miracles : and he who can swallow down these fables — must be as credulous as — Mr. P. — or an infidel.

So much for this grand hierarchical saint ! and we maintain that *Henry* did a good deed, in calling off his subjects from the profane and blasphemous superstition paid to the tomb ; and in demolishing both the shrine and the day, of this fictitious, furious saint. But where was the saint himself all this time ? Was there not, if possible, a greater call and necessity to exert his wonder-working faculty, when such irreparable injuries were offered to his body, and such gross insults to his sanctity ? or was there less inherent virtue in his body, than in his rags ? or why did he not work some signal miracle, to confound, or convert the sacrilegious disturbers of his ashes ? By the saint's passive tameness, we cannot but suspect the whole relation of his miraculous operations ; and deem them all, lying wonders, and pious frauds, invented by superstition, *retained by credulity*, and supported by tricks and impostures.

Whilst *Henry* was unshrining of dead saints, *Pole*, we are told, *was taken up in the private*
 262 *offices of friendship* (p. 230) to living ones.
 263 *His Ligeoise friends*, (p. 231) who had sheltered him in his late rambles, recommended to him the cause and person of *Albert Pigbius*. But little solicitation was needed in his behalf with *Pole*. He could best of all introduce himself to the cardinal : for it appears
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1 *Quirini, v. 2. Diat. p cxxvss*

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from the abstract of his famous book, concerning the hierarchy, inserted in *Dupin's* ecclesiastical history, that he maintained the plenitude of the papal power, to a degree of absurdity and enthusiasm¹. "In the questions," indeed he tells us, "that do not relate to the interests of the court of *Rome*, he was bold enough: but in those that did relate to them, he was prepossessed with most unsufferable opinions; and of all the authors that have written on these heads, there is not one that has carried things so far, or who has given more to the Pope than he has done²." This character of *Pighius* gave *Quirini* a good deal of offence: and he endeavours to set it aside, by saying, that *Pole* and *Sadolet* thought differently of him³. And yet the former of these did afterwards, in the council of *Trent*, publicly mention *Pighius* as one whose zeal, in opposing heresy, had run away with his judgment; and who, because he would confute the whole of the *Lutheran* doctrine concerning original sin, had very near fallen into *Pelagianism*⁴.

It seems also, that in one article, he had like to have turned heretic himself; and some heterodox boasters maintained, as *Quirini* very civilly expresses it, this glaring lie, that

¹ *Dupin*, eccles. hist. 16 cent. v. i. p. 435.

² *Id.* p. 437.

³ *Quirini*, v. 2. *Diat.* p. cxl.

⁴ *Pallavic.* hist. conc: *Trid.* l. 8. c. 2, ~~312~~ ~~313~~ ~~314~~ ~~315~~ ~~316~~ ~~317~~ ~~318~~ ~~319~~ ~~320~~ ~~321~~ ~~322~~ ~~323~~ ~~324~~ ~~325~~ ~~326~~ ~~327~~ ~~328~~ ~~329~~ ~~330~~ ~~331~~ ~~332~~ ~~333~~ ~~334~~ ~~335~~ ~~336~~ ~~337~~ ~~338~~ ~~339~~ ~~340~~ ~~341~~ ~~342~~ ~~343~~ ~~344~~ ~~345~~ ~~346~~ ~~347~~ ~~348~~ ~~349~~ ~~350~~ ~~351~~ ~~352~~ ~~353~~ ~~354~~ ~~355~~ ~~356~~ ~~357~~ ~~358~~ ~~359~~ ~~360~~ ~~361~~ ~~362~~ ~~363~~ ~~364~~ ~~365~~ ~~366~~ ~~367~~ ~~368~~ ~~369~~ ~~370~~ ~~371~~ ~~372~~ ~~373~~ ~~374~~ ~~375~~ ~~376~~ ~~377~~ ~~378~~ ~~379~~ ~~380~~ ~~381~~ ~~382~~ ~~383~~ ~~384~~ ~~385~~ ~~386~~ ~~387~~ ~~388~~ ~~389~~ ~~390~~ ~~391~~ ~~392~~ ~~393~~ ~~394~~ ~~395~~ ~~396~~ ~~397~~ ~~398~~ ~~399~~ ~~400~~ ~~401~~ ~~402~~ ~~403~~ ~~404~~ ~~405~~ ~~406~~ ~~407~~ ~~408~~ ~~409~~ ~~410~~ ~~411~~ ~~412~~ ~~413~~ ~~414~~ ~~415~~ ~~416~~ ~~417~~ ~~418~~ ~~419~~ ~~420~~ ~~421~~ ~~422~~ ~~423~~ ~~424~~ ~~425~~ ~~426~~ ~~427~~ ~~428~~ ~~429~~ ~~430~~ 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264 this *Achilles* of popery was wholly theirs, in the article of justification¹. Had he condescended to have told us who that liar was, we should have learnt from Mr. P., the cardinal's echo, (p. 232, note.) It may perhaps (from what is said afterwards) be *Bucer*². *Chemnitius* does also produce a long passage of *Pighius* to confirm it³. But not only these heretics, but *Tapper*, who must always be named with honour, has reflected on him with
 265 great severity, (p. 232). With great severity indeed! for that godly man supposed him to have been bewitched by *John Calvin's* institutions⁴. *Quirini*, however, who will never give up the cause of *Pole*, or any of his friends, has undertaken *Pighius's* defence, ~~and as~~ Mr. P. had those arguments before him, he should not have left his character under a cloud.

It is pleasant to observe, how bigots and persecutors can quarrel amongst themselves. The writer of *Pighius's* life tells us, he bore an inveterate and implacable enmity against heretics⁵. But his zeal and fury spent itself

¹ *Refellendam sumo vanam heterodoxorum gloriationem — apertissimi mendacii eosdem coarguo. Quirini, v. 2. Diat. p. CXXX.*

² *Id. p. CXXXIX.*

³ *Chemnitii examen. conc. Trident. p. 140.*

⁴ *Fasciatus errore, & seductus ex lectione institutionum Joannis Calvini. Quir. v. 2. Diat. p. CXXXII.*

⁵ *Ibid. p. CXXXII — CXXXIX.*

⁶ *Nusquam tamen acrius insurgit, quam ubi cum hereticis (adversus quos perpetuum, ac implacabile bellum instituerat) hierarchiam ecclesiasticam gravissime tutatus est.*

Guntheri vita Pighii, cited by Quir. v. 2. Diat. p. CXXXIX.
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it
who is little more than

and, for several Pages together, has exerted
himself, notably upon this good subject. As
therefore



in paper. Whereas *Ruard Tapper* had nobler opportunities, as great inquisitor of the Low Countries, of expressing his zeal and activity to thorough good purposes: and we need no other proof of his butcherly disposition, than his diabolical treatment of the venerable *Merula*, as related by that fair and candid writer, *Gerard Brandt*¹; who records a speech of him, fit to come from no other mouth, but that of an inquisitor. "It is no great matter," said this holy zealot, "whether those who die on account of religion, be guilty or not, provided we may fright the people, by such examples: which cannot fail of good success, when men eminent for their learning, wealth, nobility, and great places, are thus sacrificed." After this, it is no surprise to find, that this violent persecutor was looked upon as an atheist. This is the wretch, *who*, as Mr. P. informs us, *must always be named with honour*, (~~X~~).

His holiness, willing to do honour to his pontificate, and to the sacred college, (p. 150) 160 had lately promoted to the purple, to add more lustre to it, *David Beaton* the primate of Scotland, (p. 234) with a view no doubt to express, how much *he was sensible, the senate of the universal church should be composed of persons of distinguished merit, whose* 268

¹ *Brandt's hist. Ref. v. i. b. 4. A. D. 1556, 1557.*

² *Id. A. D. 1559.*

160 examples might recall the ancient splendour of
the priesthood, (p. 141). Pole, eager to embrace any opportunity of expressing his zeal, wrote him a congratulatory letter, too particular to be here omitted, (p. 234): such an one as we might expect from him, full of cant, and fulsome flattery, wherein he praises him for his piety; and congratulates not only the church of Rome, but the universal church, which had such abundant reason to bless God, for this promotion¹. Surely Pole could not be in earnest when he wrote this, or else he must be ignorant of Beaton's real character. The Scotch historians describe him, as a man indeed of abilities, but otherwise of an infamous character, and exceeded by none in pride, lust, and cruelty². But his zeal against heresy would sanctify every thing in Pole's opinion.

260 The primate of Scotland was ~~made~~ a cardinal, more effectually to secure the King and himself to the court of Rome: and no sooner did he put on the red garment, (p. 235) but instead of answering the prophet's question, according to the turn that Pole's fancy had given it, he chose, if any judgment is to be formed from his actions, to answer it in the prophet's own words, *the blood of the people shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my rai-*

¹ Quirini, diat. v. 2. p. CXLIV. Ep. p. 117.

² Robertson, Spotswood, Knox, and Hume, do all concur in giving cardinal Beaton this amiable character.

raised to the Dignity of



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K came before him

K² so much

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K⁵ had been before disgusted

K⁶ His violence and Pride

† Or as Beza expresses it in the following Lines
Crede mea nullo saturantur murice Vestes,
Sivite nec Coeo Pallia tincta mihi.

Sed quæ rubra vides sanctorum Cæde Virorum
Et mæssa insonti sanguine cuncta madent.
Aut memor istorum quæ celat crimina Vestis
Pro Domino justo tincta pudore rubet.

ment, for the day of vengeance is in mine heart'. No charge of heresy ~~coming amiss~~ ~~to him~~, but death was the consequence; whether ~~a~~ men nailed rams horns on the head of St. Francis, put a cow's rump to his tail, and eat a goose upon all-hallow evening, or kept company with those who did such wicked and abominable things²; or whether they preached against the novelties and corruptions of the church of Rome. The cardinal had power: and he was resolved to make such miscreants feel it to the uttermost. But unfortunately for him, the Scotch would not be convinced by such rough methods. For he shewed ~~such~~ rigour in these prosecutions, and particularly ~~such~~ indecent triumph at the execution of *Wishart*³, as enraged the common people, and exasperated the nobility; who ~~were shocked~~ at his shameless vanity, in celebrating the nuptials of one of his bastard daughters, with the utmost pomp and magnificence. ~~These, and other violencies,~~ had made him universally hated; and irritated some cool and del-

¹ *Isaiah*, 63. v. 3, 4. ~~†~~

² *Spotswood*, history of the church of Scotland, p. 75.

³ So do all the historians I have seen, call that eminently zealous and peaceable reformer; and not as Mr. P, by a singular affectation, *Wizart*. *Thuanus*, in the account he gives of this transaction, calls him, by interpreting the meaning of his name, from *Buchanan*, *Sophocardius*. L. 3. A. D. 1547. See more of him, *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 333—336. *Collier*, v. 2. p. 205. *Fox*, v. 2. p. 616, &c.

perate

~~perate~~ assassins, to perpetrate his murder. Such was the end of this unfortunate man, who in his life was ambitious beyond measure, and in punishing of those he esteemed heretics more than inhuman¹. Thus, agreeably to *Pole's* prophecy, *Beaton's* blood, as *Quirini* informs us, was shed for the catholic faith; and upon that account, he adds, that he, as well as *Fisher*, in one very wise work, is justly reckoned amongst the cardinals famous for their sanctity², and that in another work, it is expressly asserted, and indisputably proved, that he was truly a martyr³.

Mr. *P*, conscious that such commendations would not be relished in *England*, has wisely suppressed them; and, to conciliate our favour, hath ventured to give his suffrage against persecution for conscience sake, by owning, that *Beaton's* violence was a severity which those times could not bear, and with which it were to be wished the lenity of the gospel spirit had caused all times and all coun-

¹ *Spotswood*, p. 83. *Knox*, (p. 72) says it was *James Melvil*, another of the conspirators who harangued his associates and the cardinal, in the pithy manner hinted at by Mr. *P*, not *Lesley*. And so does *Keith*, if we may judge from the passage cited by *Hume*. *Tudors*, v. 1. p. 299.

² *In catalogo cardinalium ex fama sanctitatis illustrium, in sapientissimo opere de servor. Dei beatif. & beator. canonicis*. L. III. c. xxxiii. *Quir. diat.* v. 2. p. cXLV.

³ *Historia cardinalium a Donio D'Attichy episcopo Aduensi*, Tom. III. *Ibid.* p. cXLVI. & v. 3. *Præf.* p. 23.

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nevertheless

tries to have been for ever unacquainted, (p. 234). It is artful to throw out such sort of expressions when writing in this country : but those who know the merciless, intolerant spirit of popery, will only smile at such fair and smooth speeches. — ~~Nothing~~ Nothing so soft, nothing so mild and easy, as its garb and language, when at a distance from power and dominion : but place it where it may exert itself, and this candour and moderation is no more. But the times are now altered ; and good-sense, and good-nature have, as these encomiasts will tell us, refined the ferocity of ancient times, and *the lenity of the gospel spirit* is now the character of the members of the catholic church : their *temper and principles are*, as Pole was, utterly averse to sanguinary and compulsive measures, (p. 235). They may have Pole's temper and principles, and not be averse to such measures ~~either~~. 267

It is well, however, for those who talk so, if this be really the case. This kingdom has experienced different treatment from those who called themselves catholics : we never found them such gentle creatures. The bloody days of the *Marian* persecution exhibited another picture of popery triumphant. Neither did the infatuation of a prince, in later days, upon the throne, of the same religious persuasion, promise better ; and the state of the protestants in

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Ireland,

his

*Ireland*¹, when one kingdom was lost, and the crown of the other was tottering upon his head, was a flagrant proof that ~~such~~ actions, at such a time, could not be more owing to the weakness and folly of the prince himself, than to the *sanguinary and compulsive* genius of that *cause*, whose best argument is the sword. It was nothing but this prevented the reformation gaining ground, even in *Spain* and *Portugal*; and has kept it so low, in *France* and *Hungary*. And that iniquitous tyrant the duke of *Alva*, when he left his government of the Low Countries, boasted, that he had delivered into the hands of the executioner above 18,000 heretics or rebels, without reckoning those who died in war: and yet *Vargas*, the president of the council of tumults in *Holland*, that bloody council (as it was called) erected to destroy civil as well as religious liberty, had the boldness to affirm, that the Low Countries were lost out of a foolish compassion².

To omit the many long, inhuman, and barbarous persecutions, so contrary to *the lenity of the gospel spirit*, which the protestants

¹ King's state of the protestants of *Ireland* under King *James's* late government. Throughout.

² *Brandt*, Ref. v. i. b. 10. A. D. 1573. Who hath, in another place, recorded an admirable decision of *Vargas*. *Hæretici*, said that learned and upright judge, *fraxerunt templa; boni nihil faxerunt contra: ergo debent omnes patibulare*. B. 9. A. D. 1567.

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↳ Whose heart also

of almost every country in *Europe* fatally experienced in the last and preceding centuries; let us only consider how the same evil spirit hath exerted itself, with equal and unrelenting severity, in the present *epoch*. The persecution and banishment of the *Saltzburghers* is not forgotten¹. We have heard too of the unjust violencies in *Hungary*, where there were, in the late emperor *Leopold's* time, more than 2000 churches of the reformed; but in 1747 there were not many more than 100 left; and since that time, they are doubtless diminished². To descend lower still. In the freest kingdom of all, and where the greatest latitude is allowed; yet even there, and within these few years, the civil power hath been exerted to the ruin and extirpation of some of its most loyal and peaceable subjects; and this, not for opposition to government, or maligning the administration, but solely and purely for conscience and religion's sake, and for worshipping God after the way that they are pleased to term heresy³. ~~And whose heart does not~~ bleed,

¹ A. D. 1731, 1732. See the account of the sufferings of the persecuted protestants in the archbishopric of *Saltzburgh*, in two pamphlets published in 1732 and 1733.

² *Tristissima eccles. Hung. protestant. facies. A Matthia Babil, V. D. M. Veritatis causa exule. Bregæ 1747. 8vo. Lat. & Germ.*

³ See authentic and indisputable vouchers for this, in two pamphlets. One intitled, *Popery always the same, exemplified in an account of the persecutions now carrying on against the protestants in the south of France*: published in

bleed, whose indignation does not rise, at reflecting on the dismal catastrophe of the *Calas* and *Sirven* families at *Toulouse*, where bigotry, with its genuine offspring persecution, appeared in all its horrors?

Such little reason have some people to descant upon the *lenity of the gospel spirit*. Let them talk of it less, and practise it more. We, however, do not desire to retaliate this cruel spirit upon the eager, restless emissaries of the church of *Rome* in this kingdom. We hope God will pardon the blindness and perverseness of their hearts; and make gracious allowances for the prejudices of an early education, and a misguided conscience. Knowing the strong bias of violent prepossessions, we may justly say, that we endeavour to win them, by *the lenity of the gospel spirit*. We return them good for evil; and allow them that liberty of conscience, which they know not how to grant to us. We do not violently seize children from their parents. We do not condemn the men to the galleys, or the women to the workhouses, for being married by priests of their own communion. We do not send out military force to find out their

1746. The other is of still later date, being an historical memorial of the most remarkable proceedings against them in the same kingdom, from 1744 to 1751: published in 1752. Both of these are worthy the knowledge and perusal of every serious protestant.

I See *Voltaire's* letter to Mr. D'AM. upon these two tragical incidents. Published the beginning of ~~the~~ year.

~~the~~ v. Gent. Magaz. for ye
month of April 1765: p 192. & places
London Magazine for March 1762. p. 140
& for August ye same year p. 428-430.

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And deliver them to the executioner

† and also a letter in the London Magazine for
April 1762. p: 195. & in Gentleman's Magazine
for March in the same year, p: 100. concern-
ing the execution of Mons^r Rochette a Pro-
testant Clergyman

places of meeting for religious worship ; and shoot at, imprison, and fine to utter ruin, those who happen to be surprised there. We send not their priests to the galleys, or ~~the gallows~~, for presuming to exercise their ministerial functions ¹.

These, and the like actions of unchristian violence, as contrary to the true spirit of the gospel, are forbidden us by *our* religion. We shew them therefore a *better* pattern: for *compulsion* is not *conviction*. And though sometimes our moderation and forbearance may give offence to the more zealous part of our own persuasion ; yet we had rather be slack or even negligent, than rigorously ~~to~~ enforce the penal sanctions of the laws against those who differ from us, and which too many of them do justly deserve to feel ; such, I mean, who not content with this toleration and connivance, but deeming a defensive part too mean an undertaking, shall boldly put themselves forward to act on the offensive, shall openly and insolently arraign the religion of their country, brave its laws, and do their utmost to provoke the gentle government which harbours and protects them, by wantonly, and without distinction or exception, speaking evil of every name endeared to us by all valuable and grateful obligations, as christians, as scholars, and as

² See many instances of all these facts, in the pamphlets above referred to. †

patriots. Thus, because we have not, what
 a Pope¹ once called the best prop and main
 bulwark of the *Roman* faith, *an inquisition to*
silence heresy, our bigotted enemies of that
 church presume to irritate us more and more;
 and avowedly spare no care, or cost, or pains,
 or thought, to seduce weak, and ignorant,
 and dying persons; pleasing themselves, that
 they can lull us asleep, by declaring against
 compulsion and persecution. But these rest-
 less bigots should consider, for their own
 sakes, that good-nature may be pressed too
 hard; and that no government can tamely
 suffer continued insults ~~against~~ its laws, or
 care to see their people's principles debauched,
 and the allegiance due to their natural prince
 transferred to a foreign power. — Their
 own officious sedulity therefore may hurt
 them. We know what we may expect from
 them. For though smooth words are easily
 spoken; yet, as they are not always equally
 upon their guard, something will drop, which
 will discover their real *temper and principles*.
 Thus this very writer, with whom we are
 concerned, who recommends *the lenity of the*
gospel spirit, and condemns *all sanguinary and*
compulsive measures, is not ashamed to palliate,
 and justify the cruelties of queen *Mary's*
 reign. And this very cardinal of his, who is
 said to be so *averse* to such *measures*; yet,
 when legate here, and invested with full

¹ Paul the 4th.

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power, was so far from having either the honesty or the courage to prevent them, that he *actually* employed them himself, *in establishing the catholic cause*, (p. 235). 26 d

The Pope having, by his mediation, reconciled the Emperor and the King of *France*; and these two princes, to humour his holiness, joining in their censures of *Henry's* conduct: this *servant of servants*, backed by such supports, thought he might now venture, *from that universal superintendence, which obliged him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the church*, (p. 178). 202
to issue out his bulls of excommunication and deposition ~~of~~ this adversary of his see; and which, to *Pole's* great grief, he had kept by him for some time, to the detriment, as he thought, of the kingdom'. By this act, the Pope, as far as in him lay, deprived *Henry* of his kingdoms; absolved his subjects from their allegiance; and ordered them to take up arms against him: and all the christian princes of *Europe* were exhorted to fall upon him, as a public enemy of the church of God².

This extraordinary exertion of the plenitude of papal power, having been claimed and exercised by several of those meek and christian bishops who ~~had sat~~ *have sat* in *St. Peter's* infallible chair, we cannot but express our

1 *Quirini*, v. i. *Diat.* p. 315.

2 *Burnet*, ref. v. i. p. 245. *Records*, p. 166.

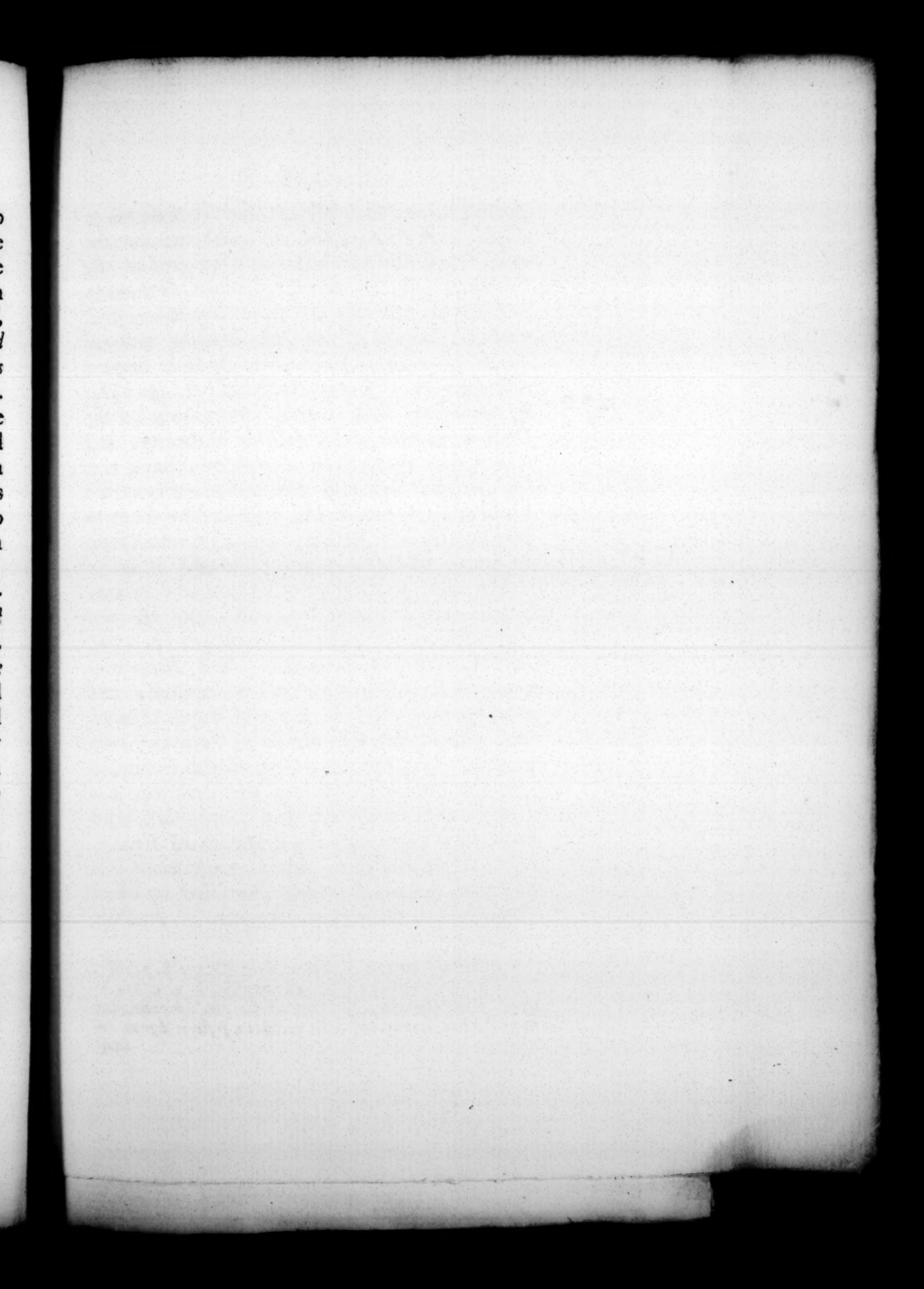
astonishment, that Mr. P. should presume to discuss that claim; and to question, not the validity of the excommunicating part of the sentence, but the deposing power assumed in it; for he tells us, *we do not any where find, that the author of our holy religion declared his vicegerents in the hierarchy to be umpires and disposers of states and kingdoms*, (p. 238).

272.

A concession this, highly derogatory to the Pope's supreme and infallible authority, and which the abettors of it will not thank him for; unless, perhaps, the greater service his book may do the cause, may incline them to pardon and indulge him in any representation he chuses to make of the principles of it.

He says, that *Gregory VII*, that very turbulent and ambitious pontiff, *was the first who undertook to depose a sovereign*, (p. 239). And so it is frequently said. But *Bellarmino* dates this jurisdiction rather higher; and proving from facts, that the Popes claimed this uncontrollable temporal power over princes, he instances in *Gregory the second*, in the 8th century, deposing the emperor *Leo Isaurus* the iconoclast, and *Zacharias*, who deprived *Childeric* of the kingdom of *France*, and gave it to *Pepin*. He also mentions acts of equal temporal power exercised by other Popes before *Gregory the seventh*. And the

¹ *Bellarmino. Cont. tom. 1. de Rom. Pont. lib. 5. c. 8. p. 1087, &c.* See also the same vol. and treatise, l. 3. c. 16. p. 910. And *Baronius*, speaking of *Gregory's* deposing the emperor *Leo Isaurus*, says, *Sic exemplum posteris dignum reliquit*



same author, in another place, enumerating the several reasons for calling a council, makes the motive of deposing an emperor one of them¹.

But, says Mr. P, *this opinion is so far from making a part of the doctrine of the catholic church, that no professor would be allowed to maintain it in those countries, which are most attached to her communion; and no book suffered to appear in public, where it was asserted,* 274 (p. 240). Things are strangely altered then of late years. For though the papal power hath been considerably lowered since the reformation; yet, that such a proof of orthodoxy, as maintaining the Pope's temporal authority, should be formally censured by any of that communion, is what we can hardly credit, when so many infallible Popes have, *ex cathedra*, pronounced it *heretical* to deny it: when it has been made a kind of test of fidelity and submission to the successor of the prince of the apostles: when so many luminaries of that church have warmly contended for it: and when one of their GENERAL COUNCILS hath positively decreed, *that Popes may depose heretical princes, and absolve their subjects from their allegiance*². What can we rea-

liquit Gregorius, ne in ecclesia Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici principes. Annal. v. 9. A. D. 730. sect. 5. p. 133.

¹ *Id. Tom. 2. De conciliis & ecclesia, L. 1. c. 9. p. 17.*

² The fourth general *Lateran* council, held under Innocent III. A. D. 1215. cap. 3. *De hæreticis. v. Crabbe concil. v. 2. p. 947. ed. 1551.*

sonably

sonably conclude from hence, but that it is an article of their belief?

273 So necessary hath this doctrine been thought to the well-being of the papacy, that some of the greatest and ablest champions of the *Romish* church, instead of looking upon it as a *new system*, (p. 239) have thought it the more incumbent upon them, and from this very *opposition*, to insist upon its antiquity, and to shew the fatal tendency of depriving the see of *Rome* of any part of its jurisdiction. *Baronius* calls such an attempt, by no gentler a name than that of heresy, as depriving the Pope of half his power¹. And that ready controversialist, the ever-renowned *Bellarmino*, who will not give up any the least of the pontifical claims, enlarges upon this capital article; and has employed his whole fifth book *de Romano pontifice*, in establishing that Pontiff's temporal power; expressly asserting, that though the Pope hath not directly, *de jure divino*, a power over the temporalities of princes, yet indirectly, as the chief spiritual prince, he can change kingdoms, take them from one, and give them to another, if it be necessary for the good of souls². The famous cardinal *Perron* was

¹ *Hæresis errore notantur omnes, qui ab ecclesia Romana, cathedra Petri, e duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec nisi spiritualem concedunt. Baronii Annales, A. D. 1053. sect. 14. v. II. p. 249. And again, A. D. 1073. sect. 13. p. 1072, he calls it, Hæresis Politicorum.*

² *Quantum ad personas, non potest Papa, ut Papa, ordinare*

supposition

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his own most

very warm upon this point ; and calls “ that
 “ doctrine which makes princes indeposable
 “ by the Pope, a breeder of schisms, a gate
 “ that makes way for all heresy to enter, and
 “ that it obliges men to confess that the ca-
 “ tholic church hath for many ages perished
 “ from the earth ; for he confidently avows
 “ it, that all the catholic church have held
 “ it, and the whole *French* church, till the
 “ time of *Calvin* ; that if this doctrine be
 “ not true, the Pope is so far from being
 “ head of the church, and vicar of *Christ*,
 “ that he is an heretic and Antichrist, and
 “ all the parts of the church are the limbs of
 “ Antichrist’.”

But not only is Mr. *P.* so unfortunate as
 to differ in this essential point, from these il-
 lustrious champions of his own church, but
 also from his favourite character : for *Pole*
 who, amongst other ornamental advantages,
 was distinguished by every qualification of an
 all-accomplished churchman, (pref. p. xvi) had

XVIII

*narie temporales principes deponere, etiam iusta de causa, eo
 modo quo deponit episcopos, i. e. tanquam ordinarius iudex ;
 tamen potest mutare regna, & uni auferre, atque alteri con-
 ferre, tanquam summus princeps spiritualis, si id necessarium
 sit ad animarum salutem. Cont. tom. 1. De Rom. Pont. l.
 5. c. 6. p. 1081. And in the next chapter, he says,
 Pontificis est judicare, regem esse deponendum, vel non deponen-
 dum. And again, speaking of heretical princes, he says,
 Omnium consensu possunt, & debent privari suo dominio.
 Ibid. c. 7. p. 1084.*

¹ *Stillingfleet*, v. 2. serm. 2. p. 99. cited in *Fortin's*
life of Erasmus, v. 2. p. 41. See also *Voltaire's* works,
 v. 7. p. 37. Last French edition, 1756.

as

as high notions of papal omnipotency, as any cardinal could have ; and spared no pains to illustrate this doctrine. In his first book of *the church's unity*, he labours to demonstrate ^{A over} the pre-eminence of the sacerdotal ~~the~~ the regal office ; and in the second, to vindicate the prerogative of the see of *Rome*, and establish its high pretensions. Agreeably to this, he elsewhere asserts, " That Christ placed *Peter's* chair, above all the thrones of Emperors, and all the tribunals of Kings'."

274 † It would be endless to cite ~~the~~ the most respectable names, belonging to the *Romish* church, who hold this temporal and deposing power in its full extent ; which surely they would not have done, if they had not looked upon it, as *making a part of the doctrine of the catholic church*, (p. 240). And though some high-spirited, unruly councils have lessened the Pope's authority, by making it inferior to that of councils, and some of the free spirits of *France*, by making a distinction between the court and the church of *Rome*, have absolutely rejected it ; yet have they been ever looked upon, by others of that church, with an evil eye, as not coming up to the true standard of orthodoxy.

But we have one authority more to prove this point, an authority too of the greatest weight of all with our biographer, and that

I *Petri cathedram, super omnia imperatorum solia, & omnia regum tribunalia collocavit Christus. Polus de concilio. Quæstio 61. p. 34. Romæ 1562. 4to.*

is

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is—*his own*. For when he had before informed his readers of *Pole's legantine commission* to the chief powers of *Europe*, to induce them to compel *Henry* to return to the obedience of the see of *Rome*, he there vindicated the hostile conduct of his holiness, by declaring, that *the principles on which he proceeded, were drawn from that universal superintendence, which OBLIGED him to watch over the spiritual welfare of each part of the church, and gave him A RIGHT to use such means as* 202
are proper to effect it, (p. 178). He then undoubtedly thought with his hero, *that it was the Pope's duty to seek, FROM EVERY QUARTER, a remedy to those evils, in which the King had involved himself and the whole* 208
kingdom, (p. 183). Now, if this be not, in effect, making the Pope become a kind of universal monarch, superior to all others, even with respect to extent of temporal power, (p. 239), I know not what is. We cannot reasonably infer otherwise. Nor need we desire better proof, that *this opinion does make a part of the doctrine of the catholic church (p.* 273
240), than from the number, weight and character of those members of that church, who professedly inculcate it as such. 274

Mr. P, however, proceeds, and adds, *that no professor would be allowed to maintain it in those countries, which are most attached to her communion; and no book suffered to appear in public, where it was asserted, (p. 240).* If *ib.*
 the professors are not allowed to maintain this

this doctrine, they take the liberty to read lectures upon it; which, we may fairly suppose, is not to confute, but to *maintain and assert it*. In the scheme of lectures to be read in the university of *Erfurt*, for the year 1752, two of the law-professors there gave notice, that they would such and such days read lectures upon the decretals of *Gregory the IXth*¹: which decretals were collected to manifest his boundless authority, and to justify his excommunication of the Emperor *Frederick*, whom that violent and iniquitous Pope “proclaimed an Antichrist and an atheist; and a new gospel was promulged throughout *Europe*, promising, that whoever assisted in dethroning the Emperor should inherit the kingdom of heaven².” And, not to mention some feeble attempts that both ~~Gregory the IXth~~ *Innocent XII*, made to revive, if possible, their claimed temporal power; there was a work lately drawn up by the inquisition, concerning the papal power, to depose Kings, or discharge their subjects from their oath of allegiance; but such a piece, saith my author, would have met with a better reception in the eleventh

¹ *D. Job: Michael Rotermundt, professor decretalium, &c. & Joannes Joachimus Hunold, J. U. D. &c. ex catalogo prælectionum univ. Erfordiensis per annum sequentem habendarum. 1751.* And the canon of deposing heretical princes, established in the great *Lateran* council, as it is called, is received by these decretals into the canon law L. 5. Tit. 7. c. 13. *De Hæreticis*.

² *Walch's history of the Popes, p. 178.*

and Clement X,



[Faint handwritten text at the bottom of the page, possibly a signature or date.]

May & since that time, no longer ago than in the Year 1728, that very Pope Gregory XIII, (whom Mr P has presumed to censure) was exalted into a Saint by Benedict XIII, & his Festival ordered to be kept with a double Office, for this, amongst other reasons, as y^e Lesson of the Day sets forth, because He deprived the Emperor Henry IV of the Communion of the Faithful & of his Dominions; & absolved all his Subjects from their Allegiance. 3

3 Verprootennii Fasciculus Dissertationum
Coburg. 1737. cited in Bp Lawington's
Intinism of Methodists & Papists compared
pt 3. p 274. 1st Edⁿ.

It is somewhat singular that any Writer, in this Century, should compose a Treatise upon this Subject, & declare to the Public, that he wrote it to retract his former Sentiments. "He owns, bona fide, that "being carried away by the authority of an illustrious "Clergy, & a famous University, & being moreover con- "vinced by some Papages, quoted out of ancient Authors, which he had not yet sufficiently canvassed, he once was one of those who did not own the Pope's Infallibility;" L'infant's Dissertation for Gerson & the Council of Constance. at y^e end of y^e 2^d Vol. of his

century, than in the eighteenth¹. And long within Mr. P's remembrance hath this doctrine been *asserted*: and even a *French* writer hath openly *maintained* the Pope's pretensions; and his book been *suffered* to appear in public, where it is *asserted*². So that this doctrine is not quite so much exploded by his church, as Mr. P. would persuade us it is, but maketh a part of its Her doctrine.

The reconciliation of the Emperor and the King of *France*, and the distinguished civilities shewn to our *English* fugitive by the former of those princes, inspired him and his master, the Pope, with fresh hopes of *reuniting so fair a portion, as England, to the catholic church*, (p. 173). Animated with this pleasing prospect, his holiness issued out his bulls of excommunication and deposition against the King of *England*: and the *English* cardinal cheerfully undertook another spiritual expedition against his own sovereign. As the encouragement now given was greater than before, his instructions ran in an higher strain; and breathed nothing but ruin and destruction against *Henry*. He was now sent into *Spain*, to persuade the Emperor to desist from the league against the *Turk*, that he might be at leisure to make war against his

¹ Walch's History of the Popes, p. 298. Note.

² Petitdidier, a *Benedictine* monk, sur l'autorité et l'infallibilité des Papes, printed at *Luxemburg* in 1724. ✠

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fellow christians¹. Such was *Pole's* charity, loyalty, and piety, which drove him upon this crusade, at the most unseasonable time of the year: but *vincit iter durum pietas*, (p. 280/245).

The hostile air of these instructions with respect to Henry, was such, that Mr. P. himself allows, that it may seem extraordinary, the legate should take upon him such a commission, (p. 277 242). But he thinks this apology will be admitted in his behalf, that he had been declared a traitor,² for causes which, in their nature, do not seem to come under the article of treason, (~~p. 242~~). He had so, and upon very justifiable motives, for being concerned in the same treasonable practices he was now again engaged in, for aiding and abetting a rebellion against his King, and inviting and exciting the chief powers of *Europe* to invade and distress his country. He was ever inculcating, that *Henry* was a greater enemy to the cause of christianity than the *Turk*; "that things might be so managed, that

¹ *Persuadere suæ Majestati, ut omni cura velit incumbere reductioni illius regni ad veram religionem, nec ulterius pati regem illum sævire in Deum, & in sanctos, tamdiu a se, & a toto regno cultos, &c. . . . D.V. Romana conabitur omnibus viribus persuadere suæ Majestati longe præstare . . . fieri a liga universa inducias, (et incluso etiam christianissimo rege) cum Turcis ad aliquod tempus, quam propter expeditionem in eosdem Turcas . . . amittere occasionem bene gerendæ rei Angliæ, & Lutheranae. Instructio pro card. Polo, &c. Quir. v. 2. p. CCLXXIX. inter Monum. Prælim.*

of his History of that Council. p. 566. Eng. Trans.

as himself expresses it,

+ We suppose Pole & his Biographer to be of the very same Opinion
~~in this Point~~ with Emanuel Sa, who, in his Book entitled
Aphorismi Compariorum, after studying this Point 40 Years,
says, he is clear, that the Rebellion of a Clergyman against his
King is no Treason, because he is no Subject. v Sa in
Verbo Clericus. cited in the Review of the Council of Trent

1



" no force should appear, and yet the greatest
 " force applied, especially if the two powers
 " (above mentioned) would but interpose in
 " this cause, which concerned themselves,
 " the holy see, and all *Christendom*; and that
 " now was the time, as they were at peace
 " together¹."

But notwithstanding all this, we are told,
*whatever the legate's private opinion might
 have been of the Pope's deposing power, in ge-
 neral; certain it is, that he never instigated
 the courts, to which he was sent, to act in con-
 sequence of it, (p. 243)* Surely, if Mr. P.
 had not the utmost contempt of his readers,
 and the highest opinion of his own import-
 ance and authority, he would not have dared
 to say this in direct contradiction to *Pole* him-
 self, who *did instigate*, as much as in him
 lay, *the courts to which he was sent*, not to
 content themselves with expostulations and
 threats, but declare war against his own
 country, " and crush the new *Turks* before
 " they attacked the old ones." This was
 his suggestion to the Pope²: this does he in-

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¹ *Hæc omnia sic tractari possunt, ut nulla vis appareat, &
 tamen maxima vis adhibebitur; maxime si isti duo principes
 interponant se, ut causam hujus sanctæ sedis, & suam, atque
 totius reipublicæ christianæ agant, quod ut faciant hæc ipsa
 erit opportunitas, dum de pace inter eos concluditur.*

Quir. v. 5. p. 156. inter tria Poli scripta.

² *Quare primum prohibendum, ne novi Turchæ exorian-
 tur, antequam ad veteres oppugnandos eatur.*

Quir. v. 5. p. 157. inter tria Poli scripta.

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 list upon in his letters to *Contareni*¹. But not to overpower our biographer with too many proofs at once, I will only refer him to a treatise of the cardinal, which, by giving an abstract of, (p. 275) he would persuade us, he had read and considered.

In that most inflammatory and scurrilous address to the Emperor, which *Pole* called his *Apology*, ~~which~~ all the vile and bitter expressions, which a fruitful and malicious imagination could invent, are in the coarsest language, without any regard to decency or religion, applied to his sovereign; and he who would see ribaldry and railing in its perfection², and learn the art of calling an enemy by bad names, need only dip into this apology, in comparison with which, the language of his book on the church's unity, severe and unchristian as it is, is modest and decent: he here openly declares to the Emperor, that

1 — *Primum Cæsarem contentum esse, ut amborum nomine mittantur, (sc. illius & regis christianissimi) qui Anglo protestentur, &c. Deinde hoc clare explicet, quod in omni protestatione intelligitur, Anglo non obediente, se contentum una cum rege christianissimo exequi, quæ ad obedientiam principum catholicorum pertinent, &c. Quir. v. 2. Ep. Poli Contareno, p. 176. And again, in another letter, he says, Excitare enim, ut nosti, in Scriptura Deus solet adversarios, & hostes contra eos quos Deus vult castigare, &c. Ibid. p. 198.*

2 The apology which *Pole* makes for all this scurrility against his King, is, that it was the will of God, and his vice-gerent, that he should abuse him; and he could not help it: *Non minus (says he) claram Dei vocem intus audire videor, qui me id facere jubeat, quam foris vicarii Dei imperium audio. Apol. ad Cæs. sect. VIII. p. 79.*

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— the Turk if no other remedy could be found
for so great an evil,

the motive of his late embassy was to expose the flagrant wickedness of *Henry*, and to persuade him, "to ~~divert his arms from the Turk~~, and ~~if it would not otherwise be~~, to turn them, where the greater necessity of the church demanded them". It would be tedious and endless to produce other passages to the same effect: for the intention of the whole treatise is to rouse the Emperor to revenge the cause of the church; and to assure him, he could not expect success in his other enterprises, till he had triumphed over this enemy of christianity². But alas! neither the embassy, nor the eloquence of *Pole*, could prevail either upon the Emperor, or the King of *France*. They, it seems, were far from feeling any thing of the CHRISTIAN and public spirit, with

¹ *Ab eo missus, cui me fas parere cogit, & ad te primum missus, deinde ad regem christianissimum, ut hujus (sc. Henrici) scelera per se quidem minime obscura detegam, & te, CÆSAR, a bello Turcico abducere coner, & quantum possum, suadeam, ut arma tua eo convertas, si huic tanto malo aliter mederi non possis, quo te major necessitas ecclesiæ vocat. —* He had just before said, that he had threatened the King 3 years ago in his book, if he did not desist from persecuting the church: *Si nemo alius hoc in se susciperet, me facturum, ut apud principes ejus nequitia sic pateret, ut aperte cognoscerent illum multo graviolem hostem ecclesiæ, quam Turcarum tyrannum; & si alter bello esset persequendus, multo justius contra illum arma convertenda, quam contra Turcam, ut a quo major perniciēs immineret.*

Quir. v. 1. Apol. ad Cæs. sect. VIII. p. 78.

² *Sic vero dico, si expectamus victoriam in Oriente, christianis ab hoste Christi in Occidente gravius afflictis prius esse succurrendum; victoriam enim Christianorum in Oriente ab ista in Occidente pendere.* *Ibid. sect. XLII. p. 166.*

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which he was animated, (p. 243); and did not care to enter into a war only to gratify the pride and resentment of the bishop of Rome, and to countenance (what, as Kings, they could not but abhor) the treasonable efforts of a *fugitive incendiary*. The legate therefore was forced to be contented with a few good words, and retire, as before, with shame, confusion, and disappointment.

It was not to be supposed, that *Henry* was so ill-served, as to be ignorant of the legate's offensive negotiations with these princes. "Whatever danger, therefore, he apprehended from abroad, he ascribed it all to *Pole*, as the great inciter of foreign princes to invade his realm, and to his correspondences, as giving encouragement to make the attempt." The cardinal was at a distance, and out of his power: but the storm fell heavily upon his family, and some of his friends; who lost their lives, for the correspondence they had kept up with him, who had been declared the King's rebel and enemy. Mr. *P.* says, *their only crime was their affinity to the cardinal*, (p. 246). *Henry*, bad as he was, ~~was not so violent as this~~ neither. They were indicted for high treason; the particulars of the proofs are not recorded. ~~And from~~ the account of the proceedings against these unfortunate noblemen related by *Burnet*,

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1 *Carte*, v. 3. p. 148.

2 *Burnet*, Ref. v. 1. p. 358.

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* had yet too much natural generosity of
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they seem to have been guilty of little more, than of some very hasty and very imprudent speeches which fell from them: but the cardinal's open and provoking treasons, and the dangerous situation of *England*, in case of an invasion, might be the occasion of their being treated with greater severity, than their offences would have deserved in calmer times.

The offence that *Pole's* behaviour gave his friends in *England*, is strongly expressed by bishop *Tonstall*, who most severely censures him for his unnatural, shameless, pestilent treasons; "whose pernicious treasons" (says he) "late secretly wrought against this realme, have been, by the work of Almighty God, so marvelously detected, and by his own brother, without looking, so disclosed, and condign punishment ensued, that hereafter, God willing, they shall not take any more such root to the annoyance of this realm'." This was all *Pole* got by this second ramble: he had the mortification to find all his hopes terminated in an unsuccessful and despised embassy, in the ruin of his family, and the loss of his friends.

The cardinal's sanguinary expectations being defeated; to indulge his spleen and re-

¹ Bishop *Tonstall's* Palm Sunday sermon, before *Henry VIII.* in 1539. Re-printed in 4^{to}. 1633, p. 32, 33. And also cited in *Strype's Memorials*, v. i. p. 338.

29 d

30 J.

ib.

sentment'; he retired to, and lodged in a convent near Carpentras, (p. 261), where, whilst he was trying to get over his public disappointments, and private afflictions, we are called to attend to the boisterous proceedings by which Henry was giving the nation to understand, they had exchanged the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, for the arbitrary will of a capricious and bloody prince, (p. 263). It is hard upon the King of England, that nothing he did can please either Pole, or his biographer. Three years before this time, he says, he drew up a profession of faith, &c. ~~(p. 263)~~. In all this, he adds, there was nothing but what had been the constant doctrine of antiquity, and was then held and practised by the whole catholic church, (p. 264) We can hardly think, that Mr. P. knows any thing more of these articles, than what he learnt by running over the titles of them, or he would not have been so lavish in his commendations of them. For these articles were intended to be healing ones of reconciliation and unity, wherein something was to be yielded on both sides: for not to mention, that four of the *Romish* sacraments are entirely dropped; nothing said of traditions, indulgences, the Pope's power, or the like; purgatory was made uncertain, and its abuses

¹ See his letters from Carpentras in the months of August and September, 1539, wrote to Contareni. *Quir.* v. 2. p. 181—199.

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taken away. So that, " by perusing these
 " articles, the reader may perceive several of
 " the most shocking doctrines of the *Roman*
 " communion were softened and explained
 " to a more inoffensive sense, and several su-
 " perstitious usages discharged'."

But now, *at the time I am speaking of*, the
 zealots of the *Romish* party had gained ground:
 and the King, (irritated by the opposition
Cranmer, and the well-wishers to the refor-
 mation, had made to the intire dissolution of
 the monasteries) to manifest to the world,
 that, though he was not a friend to the bi-
 shop of *Rome*, he still adhered to the faith of
 the *Romish* church, and to remove that of-
 fence, which the former profession of faith
 had given, he established those *six articles*,
 which we acknowledge to be cruel and
 bloody indeed. But who enacted those se- +
 vere penalties ~~to~~ speculative points? *Cromwell*
 or *Cranmer*? No; neither of them. The
 partizans of the *Romish* church made this
 law: and " the adherents of the papacy were
 " so intent upon its execution, that they got
 " 500 persons, to be taken up immediately,
 " but *Cromwell* representing the evil con-
 " sequences of so violent a proceeding, pro-
 " cured a pardon for them'." But, how-
 ever, some few years after, (1544) a more
 considerate parliament passed another act, to

1 Collier, ~~ecclesiastical~~ hist. v. 2. p. 128.

2 Carte, v. 3. p. 151. *see also, Stuype's Mem: v. 1.*

p 353. y. 366. X 4

qualify

Hume, v. 1. p. 234.

qualify the rigour of these six articles, and to prevent malicious accusations¹.

302 Meanly as we think, as well as Mr. P, of *the slavish disposition of the parliament*, to pass such inhuman edicts, (p. 264), we cannot help reminding our biographer, that though this inhuman act was repealed in Edward the VIth's reign, yet an attempt was made in the first parliament of Mary's reign to revive it, which not then meeting with success, was deferred to the next parliament; which, being of a more *slavish disposition*, renewed this, and all the sanguinary statutes against heretics; and recommended all the articles of the catholic church, by an argument, of which, it must be allowed, the Queen, and her ministry, were perfectly masters, (~~p. 264~~).

ib. But to return to our cardinal; who, whilst Henry was thus demonstrating his orthodoxy, remained still at his retirement near *Carpen-tras*: but as soon as he had recovered his spirits, he set out for *Rome* in obedience to the Pope's commands: and so fearful was he of any attempt against his life and person, and particularly in that place and neighbourhood, that he desired his coming might be kept a profound secret, and ^{that he} appear unexpected². Whilst he was upon the road, he stepped out of the way, to pay his devotions to the head of *Magdalen*³, which was preserved as a va-

¹ Carte, v. 3. p. 176. ² *Quir. v. 2 Ep. Poli Contareno*, p. 194.

³ *Cumque inde ad templum venissem, in quo ejus caput asservatur, &c. Quir. v. 4. Ep. ad Edwardum VI. sect. XLVI, p. 338.*

that he might

Parliamentary History, v. 3. p. 198.



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A feigned, hypocritical

¶ If things turned out well and according to his wishes, instead of such grinning honour in Partibus Infidelium, he knew, he should have his option of the best Preferments that should fall. Where he could not have Possession, he despised the Nomination. ¶

¶ Si Res Ecclesia in Anglia restaurantur, non posse mihi deesse illic Episcopatus, si modo illis ipse deesse nolim.

luable relic, in a cavern near *the road between Aix and Marseilles*, called *Sainte-Beaume*, (p. 271). *As soon* (says he) *as I entered the church, I fell into a great fit of weeping*, (p. 272). But what occasioned this excess of sorrow? Was it a compunction arising from the sense of the misery which his folly and enthusiasm had brought upon his own family? No. They were, forsooth, his tears for *Henry's* hardness and impenitency. ~~Since~~ tears truly! when he had just before, like the knights-errant of old, been running from court to court, to solicit the assistance of the christian powers, against that infidel and heretic, the King of *England*. His tears, therefore, could never be upon *Henry's* account, unless they were shed, because those princes would not enter into an holy war against him.

The cardinal, however, could sometimes attend to vulgar matters; and had just before given an instance of his prudence and worldly wisdom, in refusing the vacant bishopric of *Salisbury* from the Pope, judging wisely, it could do him no more good, than if he had been *nominated*, in the same manner, *to that of Antioch or Alexandria*: it could neither bring him honour or profit; and his enemies, hearing of it, would make it an handle of their *scorn and raillery*; (p. 267). But in this pilgrimage to *Magdalen's* cavern, he dis-

Quirini, v. 2. Ep. Poli Contareno, p. 186. 187.
covers

316 covers his weakness and superstition to a degree of credulity beyond even Mr. P's faith, who fairly confesses, that *the historical facts on which the tradition was grounded are of very doubtful authority*, (p. 271): for however high the *veneration*, formerly paid to this cavern, was, yet he must be sensible, • That it is not criminal now to deny that • *Mary Magdalen ever was in Provence*¹. And I am afraid, *the false delicacy of a corrupt age* will equally smile at *Quirini*², and his *English* copier, for *setting before the reader the sentiments which the cardinal felt at Sainte-Beaume, as proofs of his love and regard* 313 *for the person* (p. 272) of *Henry*; and pity their hero for a *simplicity*, as void of understanding, as of true piety.

hath As we take no delight in calumniating the dead, we will let the character of *Bembo* (however dubious) pass without contradiction; and will only observe, that the profligacy of his younger years ~~have~~ met with a kind apologist, which is not more owing to his orthodoxy and his purple, than to his attachment to, and his connections with cardinal *Pole*.

¹ *Voltaire's works*, v. 7. p. 48:

² *Quir.* v. 2. diat. p. CCXLVI:

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SECTION THE FIFTH.

OUR *English* cardinal being now safely lodged, and, to quiet his fears of an assassination, well guarded too, at *Rome*, his biographer has again recourse to his old friend and assistant *Quirini*; and as he learnt from him, how much *Contareni* had been the confidant of *Pole* in his late spiritual negotiations, so, from the same authority, is he enabled to exhibit *Pole's* gratitude, by doing the same kind offices to his friend, who was now, in his turn, engaged in an ecclesiastical embassy at the diet of *Ratisbon*. *Quirini's* third volume, from which he had his intelligence, is chiefly taken up with matters relating to *Contareni*, and in vindicating him from the imputation of favouring the protestant doctrine of justification: but as that cardinal's actions were nothing to *Pole*, and the diet at *Ratisbon*¹ had no connection with

¹ For a full and accurate account of the proceedings at the diet at *Ratisbon*, the reader may consult *Seckendorf*,
l. 3.

England, we will pass by this part of the history, as nothing to our purpose.

326 Quirini has taken great pains to prove the orthodoxy of Contareni's sentiments on the subject of justification (p. 284): and his copier says, that some Lutheran writers have vainly flattered themselves, that Contareni was an abettor of their principles (p. 285). But those Lutherans were not singular in their opinion: the inspired members of the council of Trent thought so too. For when Contareni's nephew, the bishop of Belluno, delivered his opinion in the debate concerning justification, and ascribed the whole of it to faith, and the merits of Christ, exclusive of works; 327 the historian of that council tells us, it gave very great offence; and revived the memory of the charge against his uncle, the cardinal, for maintaining the same sentiments.

331 When Pole had been some time at Rome, he received some comfort, however, to alleviate his afflictions: this cordial drop was now administered by the slow but sure vengeance, which, at length, overtook him, who had been the instrument of them all. This was the execution of Cromwell (p. 289). Perhaps the satisfaction the cardinal took in the fall of this minister of state, whom he looked upon,

l. 3. sect. 23, throughout, p. 352---369. Pallavicini hist. conc. Trid. l. 4. c. 13---15. v. I. p. 140---147. Sleidan. b. 13, & 14, part of each. p. 275---285. Father Paul, b. 1. p. 94---100.

I Pallavicini, hist. concil. Trident. lib. 8. c. 4. 15. *
~~1. 261~~ Dupin, 16: cent. v. 2. B. 3. to
 p. 37 Eng. Tr.

{ Pallavicini their own

2 who was supposed to have maintained

13 Pole had not been long at Rome, before

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1¹ frequently

1² unrestrained

1³ Si a Dæmonibus cum vexantibus, nominari deberet, non Legionis sed Exercitus appellationem sortiretur. &c.

to use his own scurrilous language, as the agent of the devil¹, might enable him to attend to business, and exert himself in the behalf of his friend *Contareni*; for *Cromwell* was executed the year before that cardinal went to the diet at *Ratisbon*.

We have ~~before~~ been made acquainted with *Pole's* inveterate hatred of *Cromwell*, (p. 73, &c.). It is no wonder therefore, if his historian should compliment his hero, by drawing the character of the earl of *Essex*, with the venom of an exasperated adversary. But as Mr. P. has professedly adopted his favourite's quarrels and friendships, and is therefore too much a party in the case, to write either with truth or temper, let us try whether a more favourable and just construction cannot be put upon the measures and actions of *Cromwell*, than cruelly and wantonly to represent him, as having *talents* only fitted for destruction; and that being ~~unrestrained~~ by any principle, human or divine, and the brutal savageness of his mind equal to his vile extraction, he was alike qualified to plan and execute his prince's worst designs, (p. 164). 167

Cromwell's introduction into public life was in a manner so honourable to himself, as would naturally bespeak the favour and goodwill of every ingenuous and honest mind.

¹ *Legatus Satanae; nuncius Satanae. Nominetur ergo, siquidem demones etiam in scriptura nominantur.* (3^d Poli A-pol. ad Cas. sect. XXVII. Quir. v. 1. p. 123, 125, 126. 120.7c

By his own merit and activity, by his own industry and ability, he surmounted the obstacles which a low birth and education threw in the way to obstruct his rise. Courage, fidelity, and gratitude to an eminent degree, distinguished his first appearance in the house of commons: and the King, pleased with his generous behaviour in defence of the sinking *Wolfey*, reasonably concluded, that he, who had served a private master with such zeal and affection, would serve him, with the same assiduity and attachment, in the great concerns of state. But here he found, how "impossible it was that any man, who meddled so much in great and public affairs, should not in divers kinds so mistake, forget, and err, as to incur the note of a criminal, when severe inquisition was made against him". *Cromwell* had the misfortune to live in violent and dangerous times; ~~and~~ by his station was obliged to be an active and principal instrument in effecting that separation from the see of *Rome*, which we account a national blessing; ~~that it~~ ~~has~~ exposed him to the virulent resentments of the members of that communion ever since. From the animosity of the two contending parties, which looked upon him as the chief agent in every thing, he hath met with singularly bad treatment: the one, thinking his power and influence greater

I Lord Herbert, p. 520.

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than it was, have laid the whole of their destruction upon him; the other, expecting that protection from persecution, which exceeded his authority, have joined in nothing else with their adversaries, but in their reproaches and censures of *Cromwell*. They have each of them, in their turn, rejected him as a member of their communion; have acrimoniously examined his speech and prayer at his execution; the one attempting to prove him to be no good protestant, the other² no sound papist.

At this distance of time from the scene of action, we ~~should~~ form an unprejudiced opinion, and make such candid allowances for his conduct and behaviour, as the impetuous violence of his master, and the peculiar difficulties of his situation, may reasonably offer in his behalf. The low birth of *Cromwell* might perhaps raise the indignation and envy of the nobility against him; but the impartial historian, far from reckoning that any the least disgrace to his memory, will consider it as increasing his reputation: and that confessed ability, industry, and political sagacity, which raised him to his height of greatness, should also recommend him to the favourable notice of succeeding times. Lord *Herbert*, who is not over tender of *Cromwell's* fame, yet acknowledges, that " he was noted in the exercise of his places of judicature, to have used much moderation; and in his greatest pomp, to have taken notice,

" and

• and been thankful to mean persons of his
• own acquaintance¹." Sure signs these, *not*
of a brutal savageness of mind, but of an
open, generous, friendly disposition.

It was ~~Cromwell's~~ misfortune, to serve a
master whose passions were as violent, as his
power was boundless; and who never ruined
by halves. ~~The earl of Essex~~ had recom-
mended a wife to *Henry*, whose person proved
disagreeable to him: and this was done with
a view, no doubt, to attach him more firmly
to the reformation. The partizans of the
papal and imperial faction, observing the
King's uneasiness, fomented it with all their
might, by throwing a fairer object in his
way; and made use of the same artifice to
ruin *Cromwell*, which had before been suc-
cessfully played against *Wolsey*; and, by ~~re-~~
³ ~~presenting~~ the clamours against ~~the~~ admini-
stration, prevailed upon the King to sacrifice
his minister to please the people. A falling
statesman will never want accusers: and they
who follow him in the sunshine of his power,
will desert him when he can serve them no
longer.

Cromwell experienced ⁵ ~~this~~ common fate of
disgraced ministers; and was deserted by all
his friends, except the constant *Cranmer*,
whose letter to the King in his behalf, not-
withstanding one expression in it, which no-
thing but malice would take in a bad sense,

¹ Life of *Henry VIII*, p. 526.

¹ the misfortune of this great Minister
of State,
² Cromwell

³ exaggerating
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λ^1 so absurd, & ridiculous



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will be a lasting proof of his sincerity and goodness of heart, and his friend's misfortune in serving such a master.

In the charge brought against *Cromwell*, heresy and treason are indeed objected: but the particulars are so trifling, that, in all probability, had he been permitted to have defended himself, he might have justified himself, as acting under the King's own directions. But that very act of attainder, which he himself, to please his master, had been too forward to promote, proved as fatal to him: *and even the farce of justice was as much superseded in his cause* (p. 310), as it 353

had been before, in the case of the countess of *Salisbury* and others; for *the two houses condemned him without any legal trial, and unheard* (p. 290). The little time between his arrest, attainder and execution; the King's speedy divorce from *Anne of Cleves*, and engagements with *Catherine Howard*, are strong presumptions, that something more than the supposed guilt of *Cromwell*, was the real cause of his death. *Henry* found himself ~~hampered~~ 333. with difficulties, his court divided into factions: he therefore gave up his minister, more to gratify their intrigues, and gain a new mistress, than for any real offence, or breach of the laws, which he had committed. So that, as *Mr. Dod* fairly observes, "we have reason to suspect, that King • *Henry* made use of his arbitrary power • in the prosecution, and that several of

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✓ *Hume, v. 1. p. 299.*

the articles were frivolous and ground-
less¹."

Thus fell the low-born *Cromwell*, worthy
of a better master, and a better fate: ~~and~~
his punishment may serve as a caution for
those who serve severe princes, to procure
sufficient warrant for all that they do².
The King, however, is said to have la-
mented his loss; and endeavoured to make
some reparation to his injured family, by
creating his son, before the end of the
year, a peer of the realm, by the title of
lord *Cromwell*³.

341 We are now called upon to view our
cardinal in another, and more conspicu-
ous light. The Pope rewarded his merit
and his sufferings, by conferring on him
the government of the province of the pa-
trimony (p. 295), which fair domain . . . was
339 bequeathed to the holy see by Mathildis, coun-
tess of Tuscany, in the year 1115 (p. 296).
This will of the countess was strongly
disputed, first by the Emperor *Henry V*, and
afterwards by several other princes; nor was
her bequest given up, till the Emperor *Fre-
deric II*, in the beginning of the thirteenth

¹ Church history, v. i. p. 168:

² Lord *Herbert*, p. 521.

³ See more of *Cromwell*. *Collier*, eccles. hist. v. 2. p.
180, 181. *Dod*, v. i. p. 167—169. *Carte*, v. 3. p.
159. *Burnet*, v. i. p. 276—280. And for the bill of
attainder, *Records*, p. 187, and v. 3. p. 144—147. *Bi-
og. Brit.* v. 3. article *Cromwell* (*Thomas*) p. 1531.

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† The See of Rome was often benefited by Courtesans:
Thus Avignon was added, in after ages to its holy
Patrimony. by another Saint of pretty much the
same ^{stamp} with Matildis. Clement 6th in of 14th Cent.
purchased this County of the debauched & lustful
Joan Queen of Naples, Countess of Provence.

century, confirmed (but not intirely) that splendid donation to the *Roman* see, to induce the Pope to espouse his quarrel with *Otho IV*¹. *Matbildis's* intentions, however, were kind to the holy see, who left her inheritance to it, to shew her gratitude and affection to that virtuous pontiff *Gregory VII*; with whom she was supposed to have as great interest, and upon the same honourable terms, as donna *Olympia* had, in much later days, with the chaste *Innocent X*².

When *Pole* was invested with the government of a province, left the holy see by such a saint, his biographer, from the scarcity of *documents* to illustrate his hero's actions, entertains us with an account of the *lenity* of his government, and a few quotations against persecution. We perfectly agree with our writer, in an abhorrence of that antichristian spirit; and shall only observe, that if the cardinal did pursue the lenient plan at *Viterbo*, he thought differently of it afterwards, when he was legate in *England*, and chose to try how much better the compulsive argument would succeed.

¹ *Mosheim's* eccles. hist. translated by Mr. *Maclaine*, v. 1. p. 500, 501. p. 642. And again, p. 647: and the notes at those pages, by his judicious and accurate translator: who hath done great service to the history of the Church, by his illustrations of his elegant and excellent original. See also *Walsh's* Lives of the Popes, p. 146---176.

~~a Case, hist. lit. v. 1. p. 619. Kortholt. hist. eccles. p. 426.~~

² *Mosheim* 3c Y 2 Vol 2 p. 336 Mr. Walsh. p. 285. & the Life of *Olympia* tr. fm of Italian by m^r (afterwards Bp) Compton

346 Mr. P, to recommend such equitable sentiments (p. 301), (besides appealing to the candid Sadolet) has produced the authority of Sulpicius Severus, and St. Austin. The testimony of the former, wherever he picked it up, when thoroughly considered will be found rather to favour the contrary sentiments. The place here referred to, but without telling us where to find it, occurs at the conclusion of the second book¹. The historian having recorded Priscillian's appeal from the ecclesiastical tribunal to the Emperor Maximus, who summoned him and his accusers to Treves, tells us, that this was permitted through the weakness of the orthodox². And though he does blame the bishops Idacius and Ithacius for applying to secular judges ~~(p. 301)~~, which he represents, not, as a shameful proceeding, but as indiscreetly done³: Yet he confesses, he should not have reprov'd the pains they took to extirpate heretics, if it had not been done with too eager a view to carry a point⁴. Neither does he represent the prosecution they carried on, at the Emperor's court, as a shameful proceeding ~~(p. 301)~~. What he really meant, by this expression, will be further explained by

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- 1 Lib. 2. p. 437. to the end. Ed. ~~Hinc~~ cum not. var.
- 2 Priscillianus vero . . . ad principem provocavit: permissumque id nostrorum inconstantia, p. 447.
- 3 Parum sanis consiliis, s. culares judices adeunt, p. 442.
- 4 Quorum studium in expugnandis hæreticis non reprehenderem, si non studio vincendi, plus quam oportuit, certassent, p. 447.

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* * See also Lardner's Credibility, vol. 4th
of 5th new Ed. by Dr Kippis. v. 4. p^t 2. ch. 59. sect 6.
v. 5. p^t 2. ch. 820. sect. 4.

St. Martin's speech to the Emperor, that it was a new and unheard of crime, that a secular judge should determine an ecclesiastical cause¹. This was the bad example, *the shameful proceeding*, not the prosecution or punishment of heretics, (for they were, he says, unworthy of life²) but their being tried in the temporal courts. But, *the indignation those bishops raised against themselves was still greater, when they followed them to Treves, in quality of accusers*, (p. 302). Mr. P. may think so: but *Sulpicius* does not say it, for he knew they could not help going to Treves³. And though St. Martin was indeed against those heretics being put to death, yet the zeal of other more sanguinary bishops prevailed for their execution.

But, moreover, we are told, that neither St. Martin, nor St. Ambrose would have any farther communication with the prosecutors, or the bishops who continued in their communion, ~~et~~ *ib* ~~et~~ *Ec.* [to the end of the quotation.] All this is true: but Mr. P. did not learn it from *Sulpicius's* history. That St. Ambrose did so, the editor of the *variorum* edition mentions in one of his notes. But Baronius, in his life of St. Ambrose, says, that that

¹ Novum esse & inauditum nefas, ut causam ecclesie judex sæculi judicaret, p. 449. ~~et~~ ~~et~~

² Hoc fere modo homines luce indignissimi, pessimo exemplo necati, aut exiliis multati, p. 452.

³ Omnes, quos causa involverat, ad regem deducti. Secuti etiam accusatores, p. 447.

18
 saint, and the rest of the orthodox, did not condemn this execution, only disliked that bishops, who should abstain from blood, should be the prosecutors¹. And *Sulpicius*, not in this, but in another work, has related, that *St. Martin reproached himself*, (~~p. 362~~), for a little temporising; which place, if Mr. P. had consulted, he might have diverted his reader, with the miraculous circumstance of an angel's reproofing the saint for that offence, who from that time found a diminution of virtue². But, however, his holiness Pope *Leo* the great, *one of the most illustrious bishops that ever filled the pontifical throne*, (p. 399), differed greatly in opinion from these two saints; and, when writing to *Turibius* bishop of *Asturia*, commended this slaughter of the *Priscillianists*, ~~as an excellent undertaking~~³.

This authority proving so ineffectual, let us see whether the next can stand our author in better stead. Every writer should be consistent: if he contradicts himself, by saying and unsaying, his evidence must go for nothing. And though in the epistle referred to by Mr. P, *St. Austin* does indeed speak in

1 *Baronius's* life of *Ambrose*, prefixed to the *Paris* edition of his works, v. 1. p. 47. 1632.

2 *Sulpicii Severi Dial.* 3. sect. 15. p. 575---579.

3 *Sulp. Sev. hist. lib.* 2. p. 452, in the notes. *Baron: vit. Ambros.* p. 47, who also refers to *St. Austin* as approving the same practices: and this letter of *Leo* is brought by *Maimbourg* to prove that heresy is a capital crime, and may be punished with death. *Hist. du Pontif du Leon le grand. lib.* 1.

favour

✕ ✕
 85th neu
 v. 5. p. 2

as a meritorious ^{action} ~~contribution~~



1
The

Renowned English

Again

† This Writer in another part of this Book is very severe upon those whom he termeth Politicians, particularly upon Bodin, whom he represents as an Enemy to Christianity, for pleading for toleration & Liberty of Conscience.

Devia 6 post Dom: Pasionem. p 257. In

Parte Quadragesimali

III

To support of same Principles is this Father's

favour of moderate courses; yet in so many more does he speak such opposite language, that nothing can well be argued from his opinion. ~~But~~ the zealots of the *Romish* church have made such good use of *Austin's* intolérant principles, that Mr. P. must surely be off his guard to produce him as a patron of moderation, when he cannot but know that, that saint's authority is alleged, upon every occasion, to justify persecution. Thus their two champions, *Stapleton*¹ and *Harpsfield*², cite him as recommending death as the proper punishment of heresy. And at a very critical time in the last century, a *French* version of some of *Austin's* letters was published, by order of an archbishop of *Paris*, to justify the persecution of the protestants, with this extraordinary title, *The conformity of the conduct of the church of France, for re-uniting the protestants, with that of the church of Africa, for re-uniting the Donatists with the catholic church*: which letters were well taken to pieces and exposed by *Bayle* in his philosophical commentary³. So little service have

¹ *Stapleton, Promptuarium Catholicum, Dominica quinta post Epiph.* upon the parable of the tares, p. 61, pars prima; & *Domin. secunda post Pentecost*: upon the gospel, *Compel them to come in*, p. 159. †

² *Harpsfield's dialogues.* Dial. 6. p. 916. III

³ The letters that occasioned *Bayle's* remarks, were, *Epist.* 93 alias 48, 185 alias 50, 164, 166, 167, 204, all in defence of the sword, and written against the *Donatists*, and particularly that absurd branch of them, known, not by Mr. P's new name of *Circoncilians*, but by that of *Circumcellians* (*Circumcelliones*).

these authorities been to Mr. P, that he had ~~not~~ have left the *subject* to its own self-evidence, (p. 302), than have called in such feeble and insufficient supports.

The lenity of *Pole* in his government occasioned the late learned digression. We are now to consider him as head of a literary society at *Viterbo*: and if *Quirini* and Mr. P. were not resolved, at all events, to extol their hero, we might have expected some insinuations of heresy to be thrown out against the cardinal himself. The protestants challenged him at this time, as secretly favouring their doctrine of justification: and the *Viterbo* society was unluckily composed of real, or reputed heretics. *Quirini* says, these were the principal members of it, *Flaminius*, *Peter Carnesecca*, the marchioness of *Pescara*; and *Caracciolus*, from what is there said of him, seems to be another¹. Of these *Flaminius*, *de quo erant primæ lachrymæ*², was a suspected heretic: and though he ~~was~~ regained to the church by the endeavours of *Pole*, yet he never got over the objection of that crime, and is still branded with it³. Mr. P. indeed says, he *had imbibed* at *Naples* the tenets of *Valdes*, with whom he had con-

†: In
upon the
Bodin,
for plead. *Hist. Eccles.*

¹ *Quir.* v. 3. *præf.* *De Viterbiensi sodalitate*, p. 59 &
72. & v. 4. *Apparatus*, p. I—VIII.

² *Ep. Hieron. Muzzarelli. Mag. sac. Palatii. Polo,*
Quir. v. 5. p. 127.

³ *Shelborn. Amæn. Lit.* v. 2. *Diff. de rel. Eccl. Flamini,*
p. 38. *Thuanus, lib. 8. A. D. 1551.*

tracted

III

To sup.

Authority cited, & with the highest marks of approbation
commended by Parsons in the Third Part of his Three Conver-
sions of England, Ch: 17. Sect: 25. P 385. 12^o Edn. of 1604.

done better to

1250

It is said to have been

* See also in the Amenitates literariae of the same Author
a Panegyric Dissertation upon Flaminius by Joachim
Camerarius prefixed to a Latin translation of Flaminius's
Italian Letters, v. 50. p 1048. — 1165.





† Indeed, Sandius in his Biblioth. Antitrim: p 2,
reckons him amongst the Oppugners of the doctrine
of the Trinity. but it is well known how ready that
~~this~~ Writer was to increase the number of his party
upon the smallest Pretensions. In Valdepo's Considerations
there are ^{very many} ~~numberless~~ Passages which prove him to have
been a sincere Believer, & orthodox in this point. but
nothing is more common than ^{the} abusive application
of this Charge, to Persons who have held opinions
quite opposite both to Arius & Socinus.

v. Schelhornii Amoen: hist. eccl'es: glit:
v 2. p. 61 — 53.

tracted a dangerous intimacy, and was returned to Rome, a proselite to his impious system, (p. 300). Thus does our ~~godly~~ writer, who is never at a loss for words to abuse those, whom he knoweth nothing of, or disliketh, calumniate a true servant of God. *Valdes*, or rather *Valdesso*, was a *Spanish* nobleman, and a soldier; who, in the latter part of his life, that there might be (as he said) a time between fighting and dying, devoted himself intirely to the duties of religion. His piety did not shew itself in controversy, but in inculcating experimental and practical religion, and in magnifying that faith and holiness which planteth the life of God in the souls of men. This was his offensive and impious system.

I *Valdesso's* 110 Considerations, translated by Mr. *Farrar*, and published in 1638, a small 4to. *Walton's* Lives, p. 319, in the life of *Herbert*. Amongst *Erasmus's* Epistles, there are two very respectful ones addressed to him. L. 19. p. 619. L. 22. p. 824.

Beza, in one of his letters, is extremely severe upon *Valdesso's* Considerations. It is a great pity that good man's zeal should carry him to such unwarrantable lengths, against a book that hath all the marks of a sincere and cordial piety. He should rather have blessed God for that degree of vital and experimental religion expressed in it; and have considered, with his *English* translator, that "*Valdesso* lived where the SS. were in no reputation, and therefore no marvel that he should speak so slightly of them; but rather, on the contrary, it may seem a marvelous thing in our eyes, to have a statesman in those parts, at that time, so far illuminated and taught of God as he was." *Farrar's* preface. V *Beza's* Ep. Theol. Ep. 4. N. Geneva 1575. Ed. 8vo. p. 40. †

Caracciolus

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Caracciolus was that celebrated marquis of *Vico*, who, though nephew (by his mother) to *Paul IV*, left *Italy* for the sake of religion; and flying to *Geneva*, lived there the remainder of his days; and was therefore an avowed heretic. He, *Valdesso*, *Flaminius*, and the marchioness of *Pescara*, were awakened to a sense of religion, by the powerful preaching of *Martyr* and *Ochin* at *Naples*¹. The marchioness was a most excellent and exemplary lady, but so strongly suspected of heresy, that when poor *Carnefecca* was some years afterwards brought to the stake, by that hunter of heretics, his holiness *Pius V*, the chief of the charge against him was, his dangerous intimacy with the sectarists in *Germany*, and in *Italy* with the marchioness *Pescara*, and *Julia de Gonzaga*, suspected heretics²; the high sin of which, he was fully convinced of — when he was burnt for it.

These were *Pole's* intimates at *Viterbo*, and *They* who did him great honour. *Quirini*, in his defence of the society, gives up *Carnefecca* and *Caracciolus* as apostates, but contendeth strenuously for the orthodoxy of the marchioness and *Flaminius*³: but as two of the vicars of *Christ*⁴ did not think so favourably of them,

¹ See the life of *Caracciolus* in *Italian* and *Latin* by *Beza*; and in *English* by *Crasshaw*. 1688. a thin 12mo. *Thuanus*, L. 3. A. D. 1547, & L. 84. A. D. 1586.

² *Thuanus*, lib. 39. A. D. 1566. N. B. 4.

³ V. 2. *Diat.* p. CIX---CXVI. & v. 3. *De Viterbienfi sodalitate*, p. 59---72, & v. 4. *App.* p. I---VIII.

⁴ ~~*Paul IV*, who put *Flaminius* down as an heretic in the~~

N. B. *Valdesso's* Commentary upon the Epistle to the Romans is dedicated to this Lady.

~~the~~ one was
41 Paul IV, who, as we learn from the Winter of his Life,
(of to whom Thuanus refers for the truth of it) was present
at his Death, & tho he even at ^{that} time questioned the
Orthodoxy of Flamininus: Yet when Infallibility was
afterwards conferred upon him, He then made no doubt
at all of his being an Heretic. Notwithstanding the pains
Pole took, & his glorying in the imaginary Conversion
of his Friend he coldly put him down.

* Thuanus (L 8. ad 1551.)



The other was
† as a proof of Flamininus's excellent temper, & great
candor, & that he had a mind free from Bigotry, &
malevolence. I will oblige my Reader, by laying
before him the following Epigram, written by
Flamininus upon the Burning of Jerom. Savanarola

the cardinal must not expect to be believed, before those infallible beings, who cannot err in matters of faith.

Whilst *Pole* was happy in the enjoyment of such good company, he had the mortification to hear of his mother's execution. Her behaviour, as lord *Herbert* relates it, at the time of her attainder was masculine and vehement¹; but upon the scaffold it was so extraordinary, that it is difficult how to speak of it. The softest manner of expressing our sentiments, is to say, that her resentment, for her cruel usage, and long confinement, was so strong, that it had turned her head; or she never could have behaved, at the close of life, in so frantic a manner, running backwards and forwards, and forcing the executioner to do his office, as he could. A martyr (p. 313) (as her son called her) always submits to persecution with patience. That the legate suffered a good deal upon this account, can easily be conceived: and his sorrow must be the more pungent, as he must be sensible, that his own folly and perverseness had been the more immediate occasion of the violent deaths of all that were near and dear to him; and though we cannot but lament, that the countess should fall by the arbitrary will of a

the *Index lib. prohib.* Rome 1559. ~~and~~ *Pius V.*, who burnt *Carnesecca* for being acquainted with the heretical marchioness. ~~it~~

¹ Life of *Henry VIII.* p. 511.

tyrannical

tyrannical ruler, her son, however, deserved to feel all that he did feel.

361. But *Pole's christian fortitude*, (p. 315) must
 360 be contrasted with *Tully's childish impiety*, (p.
 314), upon the death of his favourite daughter *Tullia*, when nothing would satisfy the
 fond parent, but she *was to be changed into a*
goddess, and divine honours decreed her, ~~361~~
 26 ~~361~~ The cardinal indeed did not go quite
 so far: he was content privately to consider
 his mother as a saint and a martyr, and an
 additional patron and advocate in heaven'.
 And he might perhaps sometimes comfort
 himself, that his church might in time do it;
 as the deification of ancient *Rome* is exactly
 copied in the canonization of modern *Rome*,
 where every Pope claims the privilege of ad-
 ding fresh saints to the church. And what-
 ever worship was paid by the ancient pagans
 to their heroes or inferior deities, the Roma-
 nists still pay to their saints and martyrs; and
 exhibit, in the offices of their church, those
 guilty instances, to which the book of *Wisdom*
 361 ascribes the origin of idolatry², (p. 315).

1 *Bono . . . animo sumus: hæc quoque accessit ad cæteros patronos, & advocatos, quos in cœlis habemus.*

Quirini, v. 2. Vita Poli, sect. XL. p. 59.

2 *Wisdom, ch. XIV. v. 12, & seq.*

Dum fera Flamma tuos Hieronymus pascitur Artus,
Religio sanctas dilaniata Comas,
Flevit, & o dixit, crudeles parcite Flammæ,
Parcite, sunt isto viscera nostro Rogo.

Flaminii Elogium Aman: lib: v. 10. p 1161.

In the Collection ~~of these above~~ ^{referred to,} ~~mentioned,~~ Camerarius ^{also} ~~of~~
~~publisher of Flaminii's Letters,~~ hath oblig'd the Public with an Elogium upon Carneseca,
who, it seems, had been long suspected of heretical pravity;
he vindicated his own Innocency before Paul 3. who dismiss'd
him with credit. The Charge was renew'd against him under
Paul 4. but, well knowing that Pontif's Seventy, he would not
venture in his Presence; upon which he was excommunicated;
igni & aqua fuit ipsi interdictum. His Successor Pius 4. revo-
ked this sentence, & he was again absolv'd. The Malice of his
Enemies was not satisfied with this. The accusation against
him was renew'd by Pius 5. Poor Carneseca was barely entrap'd,
& meanly given up by his Friend & Patron Corno de medicis
Duke of Florence. He was, upon this, hurried to Rome, where
he suffer'd as an Heretic, being first beheaded, & his Body after-
wards burn'd. Camerarius gives us this account of his Beha-
viour at his Execution. Animo eum fortissimo presentissimog
ad supplicium perrexisse, & illud pestulisse Roma literis
missis significatum est, adeo ut abs se etiam contemni
ignominiam, qua afficeretur vestitus quoq; deformitate,
nam asperitatem pane, animi constantissimi cum Admi-
ratione omnium, & bonorum misericordia, dictis liberioribus
declararet. De etate illius non constat, sed moriens

Labriſſe annos putatur non pauciores 50. The
excellent Flaminius hath celebrated the ^{strict} Friendship, which
subsisted between himself & Carneseca, in the following
elegant Copy of Verses addressed to the latter.

"O dulce hospitium! O Lares beati!

O mores faciles! O Atticorum

Condita sale collationes!

Quam Vos agro animo & laborioso,

Quantis cum lacrymis miser relinquo!

Cur me sava necessitas abire,

Cur vultum atq; oculos, jocosq; suaves

Logit relinquere tam venusti amici

Ab, Reges valeard opesq; Regum,

Et quisquis potuit domos Potentum

Anteponere candidi Sodalis

Blandis allogiis facitrisq;

Sed quamquam procul a tuis Oculis

Inundissime Carnesce abibo,

Regis imperium mei sequuntur

Non loci tamen ulla temporisve

Intervalla tuos mihi tepores

Non mors ipsa adimet: maneb. tecum

Secum semper ero, tibiq; semper

Magnam partem anima mea re-

linquam

Mellite optime, mi venuste Amice

Amæn. Lit. v. 10. p. 1199. ^{to} 1206.

~~See also, of some other~~ 70.



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